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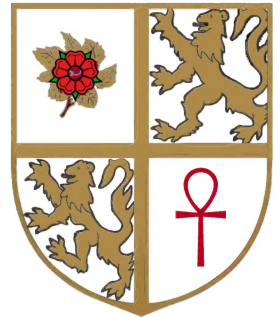
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THE MELIKS OF EASTERN ARMENIA II

The history of the meliks of eastern Armenia has been so little studied that a considerable amount of information has come to my attention since the composition of my preliminary study on the subject.¹ Apart from certain addenda and corrigenda which it is possible to bring to the earlier study, my work on the descent and ramifications of the various melik houses has reached the point where it seems advisable to publish their genealogical tables in their present form. Thus, this study will concern itself with several different aspects of the subject of the melik dynasties.

I. THE TOPOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Since the majority of the melik houses of Siwnik' and Karabagh appear to have been of Siwnid descent, we are in a position to determine the original extent of the medieval principality of Siwnik' (and of the subsequent Siwnid kingdom) by combining the territories held by these melik dynasties with those usually included in the old Armenian land of Siwnik'.

Although Stephen Orbelian makes no mention of it in his list of the districts of Siwnik',² it would appear that Xač'en (Khatchēn) or Karabagh (Arc'ax Artsakh) formed a part of the Siwnid holdings from at least the Arab period. (The following material will be best followed if read in conjunction with the Siwnid chart accompanying my previous study.)

A. *Siwnik'*

The detailed history of the House of Siwnik' becomes available to us only from the ninth century when already we find its territory

¹ R. H. HEWSEN, « The Meliks of Eastern Armenia ; a Preliminary Study, » *REArm IX* (1972), 1-45. *

* The author is indebted to Dr. Cyril Toumanoff, late of Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., for kindly consenting to the use here of his unpublished chart of the genealogy of the House of the Meliks of Somxit'i, as well as for several important contributions to the first six of the charts accompanying this article. He is also indebted to Glassboro State College (Glassboro, New Jersey) for subsidizing the publication of these charts.

² STEPANNOS ORBÉLIAN, *Patmut'iwn nahangin Sisakan* (Paris, 1859).

divided between two branches of the family. Traditionally, Armenia had been divided into a number of independent princely states each ruled by a sovereign prince (*išxan*). The lands of the *išxan* were family domains, indivisible, and passed from father to son or, lacking a son, to the *išxan*'s oldest brother.³ This system began to break down in the Arab period (653-885) when the *sepuh*-s, the other male members of the house, began to seek autonomy over specific lands within the family domain.⁴

Now this process must have begun in Siwnik' by the eighth century for at the beginning of the ninth we find Vasak III ruling as *mec nahapet* (great patriarch or geniarch) over the other princes of his house, i.e., no longer as a mere *išxan* and *nahapet* in the traditional sense of the term but as a *gaherēc'* (suzerain prince), ruling over several *gahakal*-s (vassal princes). Ultimately, Siwnik' became divided into a number of territories ruled by such *gahakal*-s, each holding his own hereditary domains. In this way the *sepuh*-s had elevated themselves to the level of landed nobles, gradually becoming feudal princes in their own right. Thus, in the time of Vasak III (d. 821), who held Gelark'unik', Vayoc'jor, Siwnik' proper (Čuk), Čahuk, Haband, and Xač'ēn (Arc'ax), and who bore the title Prince of Siwnik', we find a relative named Isaac (a brother or a cousin?) reigning as Prince of Kavsakan and Bałk', and establishing a branch which is last heard of with Prince Ĵevanšer II (died p. 960).⁵

The division of Siwnik' continued under the successors of Vasak III. His eldest son, Philip I (821-848), succeeded him as *gaherēc'* but was only Prince of East Siwnik' (Vayoc' Jor, Siwnik proper or Čuk, Čahuk or Šahapawns, Bałk', Ernjak, Šnher and Haband), i.e., the main part of the principality, whereas his second son, Isaac I (821-831/2), became Prince of West Siwnik' (Gelark'unik' and, as seems clear, Arc'ax under its then more recent name, Xač'ēn), but apparently under only the

³ For detailed information on the social background of these princely states and the families who ruled them cf. C. TOUMANOFF, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, 1963).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁵ UTMASIAN divides the Siwnids of the eighth and ninth centuries into five branches. He does not recognize that the Jagikians were a continuation of the branch of the Sahakians descended from Isaac (Sahak, d. 844), a relative (brother or cousin?) of Vasak III. Cf. H. BERBÉRIAN's review of Utmazian's *Siwnik in the IXth and Xth centuries* (Erevan, 1958, in Armenian), in *REArm* III, p. 397.

vaguest suzerainty of Philip. A third son, Atrnerseh, it would seem, received no separate territory.

B. *East Siwnik'*

After his death, Philip I was succeeded as *gaherec'* by, successively, his two eldest sons, Babgēn III (848-851/2) and Vasak IV (851/2-892/3). The latter, known as « Išxanik » 'the little prince', eventually became a vassal of the Bagratid dynasty, then kings of Armenia at Ani. The various *gahakal*-s of Siwnik', however, continued to recognize Vasak as their suzerain except for those of Gelark'unik' and presumably Xač'en. These together formed a single principality whose princes, as we shall see, were virtually independent of the main line of the Siwnid house.⁶

After the death of Vasak Išxanik', East Siwnik' was divided between his son, Philip II (892/3 - c. 943), who received the districts of Haband and Šnher, and his brother, Ašot I (c. 892/3-908), who received the rest of the patrimony except for Bałk', which went to another brother of Vasak, Babgēn IV. The throne of Siwnik' then passed to Smbat I (909-940/9), son of Ašot I, the new *gaherec'* ruling over Čluk', Vayoc' Jor, Bałk', and Čahuk.⁷ Ernĵak had been a possession of the Arab Emirs of Gołt'n since the early years of the tenth century.

Smbat I was the eldest of four sons, one of whom, Vasak, was killed in the struggle to regain Ernĵak. After his death the three surviving brothers subdivided what was left of Eastern Siwnik' between them. Smbat, the eldest, kept Vayoc' Jor (together with Čahuk and perhaps part of Čluk), with his capital at Elegis; Isaac received the eastern region of the principality centered in Bałk'; and the youngest, Babgēn, was given a small portion of Isaac's share.⁸

In 940 Smbat died and his domains passed to his son, Vasak V, (940/9 - c. 960) but he is not called *gaherec'* and the title, for some reason unknown to us, seems to have passed to the Siwnid branch of Kovsakan-Bałk' in the person of ĵavanšer II (p. 925 - p. 960). Both Vasak and Ĵevanšer died without issue, it appears; for the throne of Siwnik' was now inherited by Vasak's cousin, Smbat II (960 - c. 970), who was a son of Isaac, the brother of Smbat I. Smbat II had reigned

⁶ UTMASIAN/BERBÉRIAN, 401.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 406.

⁸ *Ibid.*

over Cluk and Bałk' but having now inherited Vasak's domains he ruled as *gaherec'* over the other princes of Siwnik'.⁹ Having subjected these to his authority, he took the title King of Siwnik'-Bałk' some time in the 970's.

Smbat II was succeeded by his son, Vasak VI (c. 998-1019), who left a single daughter Catherine (Kata), who was married to King Gagik I of Armenia. Thus the Siwnid throne passed through Vasak's sister to the younger line of West Siwnik' (Gelark'unik') in the persons of his sister's sons, Smbat III (c. 1019-?) and Gregory II (?-1084).

We must now pursue the transmission of territory through this junior line of the Siwnid house until the time of these two nephews of Vasak VI.¹⁰

C. *West Siwnik' (Gelark'unik')*

The House of West Siwnik' was founded by Isaac I (821-831/2), son of Vasak III, who received Gelark'unik' and Xač'ēn as his share of his father's domains. At his death, two of his sons, Gregory-Sup'an I (831/2-851) and Atrnerseh I, divided their father's lands between them, the former receiving Gelark'unik' and the latter Xač'ēn.¹¹ It was Ašot, a scion of the line of Gelark'unik' (probably a great-grandson of Gregory-Sup'an I), who married the sister of Vasak VI, King of Siwnik'-Bałk'. Their sons, Smbat II and Gregory III, suc-

⁹ *Ibid.*, 408.

¹⁰ For all this cf. the Siwnid genealogical chart accompanying my previous article. This chart, prepared largely on the basis of an original unpublished table of the House of Siwnik' compiled by Toumanoff, as printed stands in need of some revision as shall be indicated at various points in this article.

¹¹ Md (III, 22) calls Atrnerseh « son of Sahl », i.e., Sahak (Isaac) who is obviously the same person called by Tabari (iii, 1416) Adharnarseh ibn Ishaq al-Khashini (Atrnerseh, son of Isaac of Xač'ēn). MD (*ibid.*) specifically informs us that Atrnerseh was the son of « the Lord of Siwnik', who had seized by force the district of Gelam ». We are then told that he built Handu Castle (Handaberd), which Metropolitan Balthasar identifies with Lač'in Łala (now *Lachin*) and which, since it was probably a frontier fortress, gives us some idea of the western extent of his lands. For his permanent residence, however, Atrnerseh chose the village of Vaykunik' (MD, *ibid.*), where a mineral spring provided waters for the royal baths (Erem, 82). No mention is made of any conquest of Xač'ēn, yet the implication that Atrnerseh and his father Isaac had only recently extended their sway over this area is clear, as is the fact that Atrnerseh's sons continued to expand their father's holdings. One son, Gregory, built the castle of Hawk'xalac' and extended his authority over that region, while Gregory's son Isaac-Sewada conquered Gardman, K'ustip'arnay and, it would seem, Joroyget, as well (MD, *ibid.*).

ceeded one after the other, to the throne as kings of Siwnik'-Bałk' (which included Vayoc' Jor, Čahuk, Čluk', Bałk', and Gelark'unik'). Gregory III married Sahanduxt of the House of Xač'en and, dying in 1084 without issue, left the throne to Sennacherib Aranšahik, who reigned as Prince of Bałk' and titular King of Albania (c. 980-1000).¹²

We do not know under what circumstances this branch of the Albanian Aranšahikid royal house had obtained Bałk' in northern Siwnik' but it is probable that, fleeing the Muslims, it was given refuge by the Siwnids. Close ties with the Siwnids of Xač'en were retained by these Aranšahikids. Sennacherib's granddaughter Catherine (Kata), daughter of his son Gregory IV (c. 1105/24-1166) was married to Hasan I, Prince of Xač'en (1142-1201), while Semp'an-Mamk'an, daughter of the last king of Bałk' (d. 1261), was married to Jalal-Daula-Hasan II, Prince of Xač'en (c. 1214-1266). It would appear that Gelark'unik' and perhaps other lands in Siwnik' reverted to the Siwnids in connection with one or both of these marriages. In any case no house of Bałk' is known after 1261, while Gelark'unik' was a possession of the Siwnid House of Xač'en by the time of Jehan Shah in the fifteenth century and was probably acquired considerably before that

¹² By c. 900 A.D. a branch of the Aranšahikids, the first Royal House of Albania acquired the Principality of Bałk' and Kap'an in northern Siwnik' under circumstances unknown to us. It was one of these Aranšahids, Sennacherib by name, who was adopted by Gregory III, King of Siwnik', and so his house came to rule as the third dynasty of Siwnik' as well as holding the titular kingship of Albania. The last known representative of this house was an unnamed « King of Bałk' » who married Semp'an-Mamk'an, the daughter of Jalal-Daula-Hasan II, Prince of Xač'en (c. 1214-1266). On the Siwnid Chart in my previous article, John-Sennacherib II is stated to have reigned 1084 - c. 1105/24 and to have left three sons (Gregory, Smbat and Sevada) and one daughter. This is an error. As usual in Armenian historiography John-Sennacherib II of Xač'en, who revived the royal title of Albania in Gardman (Pařisos), has been confused with Sennacherib of the Aranšahik House of Bałk', father of the four children just cited. The real John-Sennacherib II reigned c. 980-1000 and left no children. The Gregory who succeeded him was his brother Gregory (indicated on the chart) and not his son. The Siwnid Chart should be emended to reflect this correction. It is worth noting, then, that the ancestry of Sennacherib given by Matthew of Edessa (referred to in my previous article p. 27, n. 79) is indeed correct now that we realize of which Sennacherib he is speaking. The new royal title ended with the death of his brother Gregory (c. 1003/4). Cf. Step'annos Asolik Tarawneč'i, *Patmut'wn tiezarakan* (St. Petersburg, 1885), 3.48. Gardman-Pařisos was then divided between the King of Armenia and the Arab Emir of Ganja. The remainder of the possessions of this house, namely Xač'en, were retained by Gregory's brother Philip and his descendants from whom issued at least four of the five Meliks of Karabagh and perhaps several other melik houses as well. We are indebted to Toumanoff for the resolution of this difficult embroglio.

We must now turn our attention to the Siwnids of Xač'ēn, the third line of the House of Siwnik',¹³ descendents of Atrnerseh I, the brother of Gregory-Sup'an I.

D. *West Siwnik' (Xač'ēn)*

Atrnerseh I, the first Prince of Xač'ēn and builder of Handu Castle (Handaberd), ruled over what must have represented more or less the entire mountain country along the southeastern slopes of the Armenian plateau, i.e., the former land of Arc'ax.¹⁴ Atrnerseh greatly enlarged his domains, however, when, in 821, he married Princess Spriam, daughter and heiress of Varaz-Trdat II, last Prince of Gardman and last Presiding Prince of Albania. Atrnerseh thus founded the Siwnid line of Xač'ēn-Albania, a most distinguished branch of the house. Atrnerseh's great-granddaughter Maria was married to King Ašot II of Armenia in 922; her sister Šahanduxt married Smbat II, King of Siwnik', while his great-great-grandson, John-Sennacherib II (c. 980-1000) revived in Parisos (i.e., the earlier Gardman) the dormant monarchy of Albania, reigning both as Prince of Xač'ēn and King of Albania.¹⁵

II. THE VAXTANKIANK'

With the end of the kingdom, the royal title of Siwnik' and Albania fell into abeyance and the successors of Atrnerseh were known as Princes of Xač'ēn ruling over Xač'ēn, Gełark'unik' and Gardman together. One of these descendents, Vaxtank I, called Sakar (d. 1142), bore the title Prince of Upper Xač'ēn, which he appears to have held as an appanage of his house but, if so, he apparently inherited the entire principality before his death for it was from him that the later princes of Xač'ēn were descended. Now, the name Vaxtankiank' was used as a general term for all of the descendents of Vaxtank I¹⁶ but

¹³ Siwnid Chart, *ibid.* Neither the seventh century ASX nor Stephan Orbélian writing in the thirteenth consider Arc'ax/Xač'ēn/Karabagh to have been part of Siwnik', yet it was held by a branch of the Siwnids from at least the ninth until the nineteenth — a period of over 1,000 years! Clearly for the ASX and Orbélian, geographical contiguity or, in this case, the lack of it, transcended dynastic ties in determining what lands comprised Siwnik'.

¹⁴ *Haykakan SSR Atlas* (Erevan-Moscou, 1961), 106.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ S. BARXOUDARIAN, conversation with the author in June, 1969.

more especially, it would seem, for the main line of the House of Xač'ēn which was descended from Vaxtank's grandson Vaxtank II Tonk'ik (1182 - p. 1214) by his son Hasan I the Great (1142-1182). Vaxtank II was succeeded by his son, Jalal-Daula-Hasan II (c. 1214-1266) who called himself «King of Arc'ax» and from whom the Vaxtankians eventually became known as the House of Hasan-Jalalian.

Vaxtank I Sakar, Hasan I the Great, Vaxtank II Tonk'ik and Jalal-Daula-Hasan II were all important princes but after the death of Hasan I, the house weakened as the lands of the Vaxtankians came to be subdivided again. A comparison of the genealogical development of the house with the lands held by its various branches reveals how this subdivision must have taken place. We know that Hasan I the Great abdicated in 1182 and died as a monk some years later, and it would appear that upon his abdication he must have divided his lands among his three sons. The eldest, Vaxtank II Tonk'ik, received the central land of Xač'ēn, and from him was descended the House of Hasan-Jalalian. The second son, Lara Gregory, was, as we know, the ancestor of both the Šahnazarians and the Beglarians and his line before its division was known as that of the Dop'ians from his wife Susan-Dop', daughter of Sargis II Prince Mxargrdjeli.¹⁷ When we consider that Šahnazarians and their relatives the Gelamians held Gelark'unik' and Gardman (Varanda was acquired only much later in the seventeenth century), while the Beglarian's held Giwlistan, which adjoined Gardman, it becomes clear that the Dop'ians once held all of these lands (together with Car), so that we cannot be far wrong if we assume that Lara Gregory's portion of his father's realm must have been these northern districts in their entirety. The third son of Hasan I the Great, Vasak-Smbat, received his share of the patrimony as well. Since his descendments, whom we may call the Avaniak' after his grandson Avan, held Dizak and — although perhaps not until later — the neighboring land of Varanda (the latter until the seventeenth century when it was lost to the Šahnazarids), we must suppose that his share consisted of the Vaxtankian lands to the south.

Now, at first glance it would appear that the senior line of the family had inherited the smallest albeit central portion of the ancestral

¹⁷ *Haykakan SSR Atlas, ibid.* Where the Dop'iank' holdings as well as those of the Vaxtankiank' are indicated on the map.

lands. This, however, is probably only an illusion. Xaç'ēn originally extended from Handu Castle (Lachin) in the west eastwards (at this period) down to the Kur lowlands and would have been at least as large as the other two divisions of the family lands. It is also possible that Vaṛanda was retained by the Hasan-Ĵalalids for a time as well and only later passed to the Avanids. If this is so, it may explain why the Avanids came to possess Somxit'i for without Vaṛanda their holdings in Dizak would have been considerably smaller than those of the other two lines. Each of these three lines — Hasan-Ĵalalians, Dop'ians, and Avanians — all Vaxtankian in the broad sense of the term (i.2., descendants of Vaxtank II Tonk'ik), will now be taken up in turn with special attention to matters not dealt with or dealt with inadequately in my preliminary study.

The Hasan Ĵalalid Meliks of Xaç'ēn

Since the Meliks of Xaç'ēn were a direct continuation of the Princes of Xaç'ēn, we must suppose that the settlement of Jehan-Shah (1437-1467) did not establish this melikate but merely recognized the autonomy of the existing princes in the person of Hatir, a descendant of Ĵalal-Daula-Hasan II (d. 1266). Thus invested with the new title « melik », his successors came to use this instead of the traditional Armenian title *išxan* « prince ». It is interesting to note, in support of this, that Hatir was known by both titles — *melik* and *išxan*.

The descent of the Hasan-Ĵalalids, as given on the chart in my previous article, requires some correction and elucidation. According to this chart, the Hasan-Ĵalalid meliks were descended from Albast, son of Ĵalal (c. 1306-1311) and brother of John VIII Katholikos of Albania. As a matter of fact, Albast was indeed a son of Ĵalal but not a brother of John VIII. Ĵalal's eldest son was Atabag II (not shown on the chart) and John VIII and his brothers Albast, Bastam, Maĵlis, Hasan, and Vardan, were all sons of Atabeg II and, thus, grandsons of Ĵalal.¹⁸ All of this may be seen on Chart I of this article which both corrects and extends the Siwnid Chart in my previous study.

Another problem with the stemma of the Hasan-Jalalians exists in connection with the Katholikate of Albania most, if not all, of whose later incumbents were of this house. In the Chart of the Siwnids, drawn up by Toumanoff and published with my emendations in my

¹⁸ Metropolitan Balthasar, quoted by Raffi, 693.

previous study, I found the Katholikos John V, uncle of Ĵalal II, Prince of Xač'ēn (c. 1306-1311), and John VI, son of this same Ĵalal, both entered without dates, which I attempted to supply from the list of the Katholikoi of Albania drawn up by K. T. Basmadjian.¹⁹ The dates which he gives for them, however, are chronologically unacceptable given the known dates of Ĵalal II. Basmadjian cites John V (1103-1130), John VI (1195-1225), and John VII (?-1470), none of whom could have been near contemporaries of Ĵalal. If we examine the list attentively, however, we find that between the sixty-first Katholikos Soukias (1323-?) and the sixty-second, Peter II (?-1406), there exists a lacuna of several decades which begins only a dozen years after the approximate date of the death of Ĵalal II. It is obviously within this period that we must insert the uncle and son of Ĵalal II, numbering them, respectively, John VII and John VIII but not indicating any specific dates for their reigns. The John VII of Basmadjian's list, who died in 1470, is thus, in reality, John IX. The same solution presents itself for the chronological problem of the Katholikos Aristakēs II (1511-1521) cited by Metropolitan Balthasar²⁰ as a great-grandson of Ĵalal II and brother of Melik Hatir, the latter of whom was living in 1458! This prelate, to be a great-grandson of Ĵalal and brother of Hatir, must actually be Aristakēs I (?-1478), whom the Metropolitan has simply confused with his homonym who died in 1521.

III. THE DOP'IANC'

In the Mongol period we hear of a House of Dop'iank' lords in Sodk' (eastern Gelark'unik'), Upper Xač'ēn, Car and elsewhere in the mountains northeast of Lake Sevan, and whose original seat would appear to have been the fortress of Akana in the region later known as Ĵraberđ. This house would obviously be descended from Łara Gregory, second son of Hasan I the Great (1142-1182) through the former's marriage to Susan-Dop', daughter of Sargis II, Prince Mxargrdjeli.²¹ This line

¹⁹ K. J. BASMADJIAN, « Chronologie de l'histoire de l'Arménie », *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* (1914), XIX.

²⁰ METROPOLITAN BALTHASAR, *ibid.*

²¹ Siwnid Chart, *ibid.* From an inscription at Gelard Monastery (Ayrivank) we learn that John I (Ivane) Zakarian, the brother of Susan-Dop' and second successor of their father, Sargis II, inherited the city of Hat'erk' and the nearby castle of Akana in 1214. It would appear from this that these places, both located in the later district of Ĵraberđ,

was called Dop'iank' apparently to distinguish it from the senior line of the Siwnids, i.e., the Vaxtankiank' properly called, or, as they were later known, the Hasan-Ĵalalids. From the Dop'ians were descended the lines of the Ulubekids (the later meliks of Gelam), the Aytinids (the later Meliks Beglarian) and the House of Melik Šahnazarian, the last of which was an offshoot of the House of Gelam.

A. *The Ulubekids and Šahnazarians* (Chart II)

A close scrutiny of the text of Arakel of Tabriz²² makes it quite clear that the Šahnazarids were a branch of the Ulubekid house of Gelam (Gelark'unik'), so that the ancestry of the « Šahnazarids » prior to Šahnazar I is obviously the ancestry of the Ulubekids.

According to the *Secrets of Karabagh*²³ the Šahnazarids (read : Ulubekids)²⁴ were descended from Melik Mirza I, son of Abov (the last individual shown on the Siwnid Chart in my previous article), who was a ninth generation descendent of Lara-Gregory, younger son of Hasan I the Great, and this is how the descent is indicated on the chart. Since the descendents of Melik Mirza held Gelark'unik' and Gardman, rather than the smaller southeastern section of the Dop'iank' lands (which, as we have seen, would appear to have included the later districts of Ĵraberđ, Giwlistan, and Car centered in the castle of Akana),²⁵ we must suppose them to have been the senior line of the Dop'ian house. Thus, the Ulubekids of Gelam, descendents of Melik Mirza, son of Abov, were of direct Siwnid descent, while the Šahnazarids were merely a ramification of these Ulubekids.

Now, from a sixteenth century document found in the monastery of Tat'ew, several copies of which are now in the Matanadaran, Barxudarian has been able, with the aid of additional epigraphic had originally belonged to the House of Mxargrjeli-Zaxarian, had been part of the dowry of Susan-Dop', and had reverted to her brother upon her death, which probably occurred in 1214. Cf. *Documents of Armenian Architecture*, 6 G(h)eghard (Milan, 1973), p. 16.

²² ARAKEL OF TABRIZ in Brosset's *Collection des historiens arméniens* (St. Petersburg, 1874), Vol. 1, p. 453.

²³ *Secrets*, 193.

²⁴ The term Ulubekids is derived from that of Ulubek, great-grandfather of Melik Mirza, who flourished c. 1440, and is first used by Brosset for that particular branch of the Dop'iank' from whom Mirza was descended (*Histoire de la Siounie*, Paris, 18, II, p. 180). While not entirely satisfactory it may be used here for the sake of conformity.

²⁵ *Haykakan SSR Atlas*, 106.

material, to reconstruct brief stemmae of several melik families from the region of Gelark'unik'. One of these stemmae includes a certain Mirza who was still living in 1513. Since this stemma shows that Mirza had a great-grandson, Zohrab, as early as 1505, it is clear that Mirza must have been quite elderly at this time. In my opinion, this Mirza is none other than Melik Mirza of Gelam, while Mirza's son Elisaens, his grandson Pirhamez, and his great-grandson Zohrap indicated in the stemma, must represent the main line of the House of Gelam. If Mirza had been 25 or 30 when he became melik in c. 1458, he would have been 80 or 85 in 1513, not an impossible age especially in these regions where even more advanced ages are statistically more frequent than in other parts of the world.²⁶

Unfortunately, it is not possible to construct a complete genealogy of this house linking it with the Gelamians of later times who were a prominent family of Erevan until at least the end of the nineteenth century.²⁷ That the names Gelam and Gelark'unik' are synonymous is clear, however, and there seems little reason to doubt the descent of the Meliks-Gelamian from the earlier Dop'iank' (Ulubekid) Meliks of Gelam.

²⁶ S. BARXOUDARIAN, « Gelark'unik'i Melik'nern u Tanuterav æst Tat'ewi vank'i mi p'astat'it'i », *Banber Matanadarani*, 8 (1967), pp. 191-228. The *tanuter* family of Mihranşah also identified by Barxoudarian from the Tat'ew document contains a Šahnaza-contemporaneous with Šahnazar I but since this Šahnazar is the son of a certain T'uman Ala, while Šahnazar I was the son of Melik-beg II, they cannot be the same person. The use of the name Šahnazar in the Mihranşahid family, however, suggests that it, too, may have been a ramification of the same Siwnid House of Gelark'unik' (the Gelamians). The continued use of certain names in a given family which rarely appear in any other family was rather common in the noble houses of Armenia and Georgian.

²⁷ The Gelamians were among the Armenian notables who descended to the Plain of Mughan to honor Nadir Shah in 1743 (Abraham of Crete, *History of Nadir Shah* in Brosset's *Collection*, Vol. II, 257-338). They were also among the few large landowners of the Erevan area in the nineteenth century (cf. T. X. HAKOPYAN, *Erevani patmut'iwne*, Vol. III, 1801-1879, Erevan, 1959, p. 146). According to Hakopyan, the Gelamians were known to have been of princely origin and shared with Alamalians in the jurisdiction over the Armenians of Erevan. As the less important of the two houses, however, the Gelamians had the supervision of only the smaller part of the Armenian community of the city and, unlike the Alamalians, owned only one village, Bjni, outright (*ibid.*, 115). The last melik of this house was Melik Basil (*Barsel*). A statute of 1870, issued by the governor of the Erevan *gubernia*, created a twelve-member municipal council composed of six Armenians and six Azeri Tatars. The first chairman of this council was a Gelamian who later, by the same order, became mayor of Erevan (*ibid.*, p. 13). In the 1870's, the Gelamians, together with the Alamalians (who came first) and the Lorlamians (third), were among the richest families of Erevan.

B. *The Beglarians* (Chart III)

From my examination of the descent of the Ulubekids and Šahnazar-ians it becomes clear that the Beglarids represent the descendents of the junior line of the Dop'iank', i.e., the line centered in Ĵraberd-Giwlistan around the castle of Akana. According to the *Secrets*,²⁸ Aytin, a ninth generation descendent of Hasan I the Great, was living in the time of Jehan Shah (1437-1467) and was the first *yuzbashi* (centurion) of Giwlistan, while his great-great-grandson, Abov I «The Black», (d. 1632) was the first of the line to bear the title «melik» (cf. Chart III). From this it appears that the title «Melik of Giwlistan» did not date from Jehan Shah but was probably a creation of Shah Abbas II (1587-1629), who, as we have already seen, was responsible for the confirmation of Šahnazar, a scion of the House of Gelam, as melik in Gelam and who gave him additional lands elsewhere.

Abov's grandson, Abov II (d. 1728), kidnapped Lamar-Sultana, daughter of Mamlat' Khan of Ganja,²⁹ married her, became reconciled with her father and, when the Khan died, inherited his villages — probably those in the mountains. That he did not inherit Ganja may have been due to the fact that contrary to the implication in Raffi, the Khan had a male heir who succeeded him in the bulk of his domains, or, otherwise, that the overwhelmingly Muslim population of the lowlands would not tolerate a Christian Armenian ruler. In any case, the Khanate of Ganja continued to exist until the coming of the Russians.³⁰

In connection with the Beglarians, it is worth noting that there is a Saruxan-beg (fl. 1723) in this house, a nephew of Abov II, and Toumanoff has called to my attention the fact that there was a noteworthy family of Sarukhan-beg which always claimed to have come from the vicinity of Varanda and to have been settled there at Aldam in Varanda.³¹ Toumanoff suggests that the «vicinity of Varanda» must mean simply the Ganja *gubernia* and recalls that Philip Melik-Beglaroff (d. 1869) was governor of Ganja/Elizabethpol. It is thus quite possible that the family of Sarukhan-beg was descended from the Saruxan-bek of the Beglarid house.

²⁸ *Secrets*, 189.

²⁹ RAFFI, *Xamsayi Melik'ut'iwnners* (Vienna, 1906), p. 9. In the English abridgement of this work by Amy Apcar found in her edition of *The Life and Adventures of Joseph Emir written by himself* (Calcutta, 1918), p. 335.

³⁰ *Haykakan SSR Atlas*, 107.

³¹ Letter dated 29 June, 1973.

IV. THE AVANIANK' (Chart IV)

This name may be given to the third and last line descended from Hasan I the Great, i.e., the descendents of his son Vasak Smbat, the name being based on that of the latter's grandson Avan. From this branch, originally holders of both Varanda and Dizak, are descended: (1) the Avanian meliks of Dizak; (2) *probably* the meliks of Somxit'i; and (3) *possibly* the Alamalian meliks of Erevan.

A. *The Meliks of Somxit'i*

The origin of Somxit'i dates back to 980, when, as a result of a division of lands among the scions of the Bagratid dynasty of Armenia, a large block of territory north and northeast of Lake Sevan passed to Gurgen/Korike I (982-989), brother of King Smbat II (977-989), who thus became the founder of the Bagratid line of Lawri-Tašir-Joraget as it was also called).³² Despite its name, this kingdom, centered at the (town of Lawri, consisted of considerably more than Tašir and Joraget for it also included all or most of the former Armeno-Georgian marchlands of Trēlk' and Mangleac' p'or (the two districts forming Somxit'i properly called) and also of Kuišap'or, Bošnop'or, Kolbap'or, Cobop'or, Mec Kuenk', K'usti, Gardabani, and Paruar — i.e., altogether the eastern moiety of Gugark' together with a part of western Utik'.³³ This kingdom was conquered by King Bagrat IV of Georgia (1027-1072), and its territory became the northernmost province of the Georgian kingdom, while its dynasty was reduced to the position of hereditary Lords of the Castle of Macnaberd in Utik'. Sometime after 1084, Lawri and Somxit'i became a fief attached to the office of High Constable of Georgia, the office and lands becoming the hereditary possessions of the House of Mxargrjeli in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Now, it would seem likely that the third dynasty of Somxit'i (i.e.,

³² For the history of this kingdom and its dynasty cf. L. Movsesian, « Histoire des rois Kurikian de Lori » (transl. by F. Macler), *REA*, VII (1926), 209-266. The Meliks of Barsum or Barsam, a village in the Khanate of Ganja, claimed descent from the last royal descendents of the Bagratids, a tradition which could be traced back to c. 1600 (cf. Barxudaran, *Arc'ax*, Baku, 1895, p. 319, where he speaks of Melik Aristam (Rustam) of this house. Barxudaran felt that this claim could only have been to Kurikan Bagratid descent which, though unprovable at present, could be quite possible given the location of Barsum near Ganja (cf. Mosesian, *ibid.*, p. 257).

³³ *Haykakan SSR Atlas*, 105.

the meliks who appear in the fifteenth century), would be a branch of the second (the Mxargrjelis). In reality, however, this house appears — as its title suggests — to have been an offshoot of one of the melik houses of eastern Armenia. Basing himself on certain onomastic considerations, Toumanoff presents a most ingenious suggestion that this house was a branch of the Avaniids.³⁴ In support of this he notes (1) that there is probably some basis to the claim to a community of origin put forth by Raffi³⁵ for this house and the Avaniids, (2) that a parallel exists in the Christian names found in both families (Avan/Egan and Xumar/K'amar or K'ormxaz), (3) that Melik Elizbar of Somxit'i is described as a relative of the Avaniids and, finally, (4) that it is strange to find so important a house emerging only in the fifteenth century. He thus proposes that the dynasty of Somxit'i is an offshoot of an earlier house, namely that of the Avaniids. Indeed, the use of the title «melik» by the Lords of Somxit'i certainly suggests a connection between this house and the melik houses of Siwnik' and Karabagh. To this evidence I would add the fact that the meliks of Somxit'i appear at precisely the epoch during which Jehan Shah was engaged in establishing the melik dynasties in eastern Armenia. The geographical contiguity of Somxit'i and eastern Armenia, the identity of the titles of the local dynasts, and the appearance of all of these melikdoms at the same epoch strongly suggests that the meliks of Somxit'i were appointed or at least confirmed in their holdings with the title «melik» by none other than Jehan Shah himself.

Thus, we may see in Vaxtank, Lord of Varanda and Dizak (son of Vasak-Smbat, the third son of Hasan I the Great) as a Prince of Lawri-Somxit'i succeeding to this title under circumstances unknown to us the Mxargrjeli-Zaxariad House, sometime after 1261. The houses of Xaç'en and Lawri were on intimate terms. Vasak-Smbat's grand-

³⁴ Letter dated 29 June, 1973.*

Earlier, Toumanoff had held to the more conventional opinion that the house of Somxit'i was presumably descended from the Bagratid Kings of Lawri and Albania. This house, which had its capital at Lawri, was dispossessed by the Georgian kings in the eighteenth century. The family appears in the list of the East Georgian princes as the house of Melik'ışvili (treaty of 24 July 1783) and was recognized by Imperial Russia as bearing the princely dignity under the name *Melikov* as of 30 October 1816 and 2 February 1824. This recognition was confirmed on 6 December 1850 on the basis of the Russo-Georgian Treaty of 1783 just cited.

³⁵ *Xamsayi melik'*, p. 18.

mother may well have been the second wife of Hasan I the Great who was Mama, daughter of Korike III, titular King of Lawri, while his older brothers, Vaxtank II Tonk'ik and Lara Gregory, both married daughters of Sargis II, Prince Mxargrdjeli. It is not impossible that Vasak Smbat himself also married a princess of this house since the name of his wife was not come down to us. Certainly the chronology would fit for, although the dates of Vaxtank of Dizak and his father Vasak-Smbat are not known, Vaxtank's grandfather Hasan I the Great abdicated in 1182. Then, in Vaxtank's son, Avan I (c. 1280), Toumanoff would see an early, if not the first, prince of the new line. The fact that the dynasty called itself « Avanian » strongly suggests the latter. Toumanoff goes on to identify Avan's great-great-great-great-grandson, Xumar or K'amar, as the same personage as Korxmaz I who was the (first) Melik of Somxit'i in 1478. Allowing an average of thirty years for a generation, this concordance is chronologically quite possible.

Now, Korxmaz I, Melik of Somxit'i in 1478, was father of K'aixosro I, Melik of Somxit'i, while Xumar/K'amar was father of Veliĵan I, last Prince of Varanda-Dizak. If Korxmaz I and Xumar/K'amar were in deed the same prince, then K'aixosro and Veliĵan would have been brothers and it is at this point that the line of Somxit' and Varanda-Dizak would part. This, too, is suggested by certain onomastic data : K'aixosro I was father of Eg(g)an I, Melik of Somxit'i while Veliĵan's collateral, Avan II (d. 1744) was also known as Egan. Similarly, Kamar-bek, Melik of Somxit'i in 1637, was also known as *Korxmaz* so that a correspondence between the names K'amar, Korxmaz and Kumar/K'amar is attested.

Another support for a connection between the meliks of Somxit' and those of Varanda-Dizak lies in the fact that our sources are very obscure as to how the title « melik » came to be granted to a distant cousin of Veliĵan and when this event occurred. Now, since K'orxmaz was Melik of Somxit'i in the fifteenth century, it seems logical to suppose that his melikdom was established at the same time as the other melikdoms of eastern Armenia, as already noted, i. e. that it was set up by Jehan Shah in c. 1458. Kumar of the Avaniid line, who was living in 1478, would then indeed be identical with K'orxmaz I. Somxit'i and Varanda-Dizak must thus have been two separate and noncontiguous territories each in the possession of the original Avaniid line until the time of K'orxmaz I (fifteenth century). It would have

been the latter who divided the two territories, giving Somxit'i, which was under Georgian suzerainty, to his son K'aixosro, while giving Varanda-Dizak, under Turkoman suzerainty, to his second son Veliĵan I. The possession of non-contiguous lands by the same princely house is, of course, well-attested in Armenian history.³⁶

According to the *Secrets*, Veliĵan was the last « prince » of Varanda and Dizak but since he apparently had no issue, the first « melik » was his distant cousin Pap, who traced his descent from Thomas, another son of Avan/Egan.³⁷ Since Veliĵan was not given the title « melik » it would appear that this dignity was conferred upon Pap by the Turkomans at a later date when he had become firmly established in Varanda and Dizak. This is supported by the fact that Melik Alam, son of Pap, was living as late as 1566, so that his father could scarcely have ruled over Varanda and Dizak in the time of Jehan-Shah. I would guess that Veliĵan died without issue sometime around 1500 and that, being only a distant relative, Pap could succeed him only with Turkoman approval and that it was at this time that he was confirmed as the first Melik of Varanda and Dizak.

B. *The Alamalians* (Chart IX)

Another interesting suggestion has been raised in connection with the origins of this noble house which ruled as ethnarchs over the Armenian community of Erevan under Persian rule. According to Adontz, himself a native of Siwnik', the Alamalians were a branch of one of the melik dynasties of Karabagh but of which one he did not know.³⁸ When we consider that Maria (1808-1882), a daughter of Isaac Alamalian, the last melik, married Alexander, Prince-Royal of Georgia, son of George XII the last Georgian sovereign (1798-1800), and also that her sister Salome married George, Prince T'umanišvili (d. 1857), a member of one of the most important houses in Georgia, it would seem clear, contrary to my earlier view, that the princely ancestry of this house must be taken almost for granted.

Now, the earliest known member of this house was a certain Alamal (fl. 1694) but Toumanoff notes that in the House of Avanian, Meliks

³⁶ According to the *Secrets* (201), the first Avaniid melik was Melik' Pap. According to Raffi (*Xamsayi melik'...* 19) it was Melik'-Avan (Egan).

³⁷ TOUMANOFF, 209.

³⁸ Information given by Adontz to Toumanoff in a conversation before the former's death in 1940.

of Dizak, there is a Melik Ałam (fl. 1566), who was the father of Melik Pašik.³⁹ Toumanoff thus suggests that the House of Ałamalian was descended from a younger son of Melik Ałam. While this is possible, at present it, of course, remains impossible to prove. Certainly, having recognized the autonomy of the melik houses to begin with, it would not be unnatural for the Persians to have appointed a scion of one of these houses to be ethnarchs over an important Armenian community which otherwise had no qualified local representative through whom to make itself heard before the local Persian governor.

As hereditary nobles, the meliks of Erevan had a high position in the community, lived in a sumptuous mansion in the quarter of Kone and were among the most important, influential, and respected individuals in the Khanate.⁴⁰ The German traveller Baron von Haxthausen has left us a description of Isaac, the last melik of this house, who served under the last Persian *sardar* (governor) of Erevan.⁴¹

« When he appeared he was distinguished by Persian dress (which he alone among the Armenians was permitted to wear) : a long divided coat of purple... seated on a fine Daghestani horse, surrounded by his retainers. At this time all the Armenians recognized him as their prince... the Shah, himself, recognized him as one of his most faithful vassals. From this fact his influence was very great and as far as this was concerned in Erevan only the Sardar was above him. »⁴²

The Meliks-Ałamalian, owned, by law, the villages of Arzak'yand (Arzakan), Dallar and Gyumeš as well as a part of Ēlar. Their influence extended not only over the city and the villages which they owned outright but over the Armenian inhabitants of all the surrounding villages. Each of the Armenian villages of the Erevan Khanate paid a special tax to the melik who had judicial rights over the local Armenians up to the imposition of every penalty except that of death, which only

³⁹ *Secrets*, 201, 202.

⁴⁰ HAKOPAN, *Erevani Pat.*, III, p. 214.

⁴¹ HAKOPYAN, *ibid.*, 215, quoting Haxthausen's article in the Tiflis monthly *Krunck Hayoc' ašxarhin*, 1862, p. 26.

⁴² Near Erevan stood a seventeenth century chapel where were buried the noted vardapet Melikset' of Erevan and the Katholikos Moses III (1629-1632) of Siwnik' (or of Tat'ew). Finding this chapel in a ruinous condition in 1829, Isaac Ałamalian, the last Melik of Erivan, restored the structure and was, himself, buried there in 1834 (Hakopan, *Erevani...* III, p. 268 quoting the writer Ervand ŠAHAZIZ, *Hin Erevan*, pp. 187-188).

the Sardar could impose.⁴³ Apart from their villages, the meliks owned extensive vineyards around Erevan and with their extensive cellars they, together with a few other rich families, were alone in a position to store vintage wines.⁴⁴

C. Conclusion

From an examination of the known genealogies of the melik houses and of the geographical distribution of the various lands possessed by the House of Siwnik', it becomes clear that, with the possible exception of the Haykazid-Israelians, all of the melik houses of Karabagh (and probably most of those of Siwnik') were of Siwnid descent. This

⁴³ HAKOPYAN, *ibid.*, p. 215, quoting Haxthausen's *Zakavkazkii Krai*, Vol. I and E. SAHAZIZ, *Hin Erevan*, 67-68.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 507.*

* In volume II of his *Travels in Persia, Georgia, and Koordistan* (London, 1856), 158 i 158 ff., Dr. Moritz WAGNER, a German traveller, has let this account of the westernization of Melik Isaac's daughter Maria, bride of Alexander Prince-Royal of Georgia:

« During the administration of Baron Rosen, the salons of Tiflis were graced with the presence of the wife of the legitimate heir to the throne of Georgia, Prince Alexander, son of the last King George. This lady, who was reckoned one of the first beauties in the country, was the daughter of a noble Armenian of Erivan, and fell into the hands of the Russians in the last Persian war. The Georgian Pretender, who would never consent to resign his right to the throne, and who wandered about from Persia to Turkey, stirring up those states to declare war against Muscovy, claimed his bride, after the conclusion of peace. Field Marshal Paskiewitsch did not oppose the claim, and gave permission to the lady to depart; but she lingered at Erevan, perhaps being loathe to leave her parents, and share the fugitive life of her husband, and relying on the pledged word of the Russian authorities, that she was at liberty to go whenever she pleased.

Meanwhile, Paskiewitsch was succeeded by Baron Rosen, who, on a renewal of the claims on the part of the Prince, applied to St. Petersburg for further instructions. The Supreme Government, which was not cognizant of her presence in Georgia, did not think itself bound by the word of Prince Paskiewitsch, and ordered the lady to be sent to St. Petersburg. The dismay and indignation of the Princess, on receiving this intelligence, were indescribable. She had hitherto lived a secluded life in the harem; and, supported by the tears and complaints of her mother, she at first refused to submit. But, when the Russian authorities threatened violence, she yielded, came to Tiflis, and was gradually and gently initiated into European ways by Baroness Rosen. The flatteries and attentions she received were not lost upon her.

By degrees, she became accustomed to European manners, and appeared with unveiled face, in the company of men. Nor was the sacrifice painful, as it soothed her vanity, by securing general admiration. After a prolonged residence at Tiflis, she started for St. Petersburg; and it is reported, that she passes her time so pleasantly at the Imperial Court, that she feels no inclination to return to Trans-caucasia. »

illustrious and ancient house, one of the few surviving dynasties of the old Armenian nobiliary caste and one of the very oldest noble families in the world, remains, in its various surviving branches, among the very few Armenian princely houses to retain both lands and title, even if only in far-off Europe.

ADDENDA

I. *The Meliks of Maku*

It has already been noted in my previous article (22, n. 59), that in 1400 Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, Castillian ambassador to Tamerlane, passed through Maku and found it ruled by a Khan who was outwardly a Muslim but in secret a Christian. Recently some interesting scraps of information have turned up about the nobility of this region in connection with the Monastery of St. Thaddeus, located some 20 kms. south of Maku. In 1426, for example, we hear that the Catholic princes of Maku had destroyed the monastery but that after the Castle of Maku was conquered by the Turkoman Kara-Yusuf, son of Skander, the monastery was restored and rebuilt.⁴⁵ The capture of Maku would appear to have ended the line of princes reigning here but additional information suggests that it — or another house — continued on as the Meliks of Maku so that this line, too, may perhaps have been established by Jehan Shah. In 1704, for example, ownership of the monastery was asserted by the «Princes of Artaz», while in the same year the daughters of Melik Pnik donated two gardens to the establishment.⁴⁶

II. *The Office of Yuzbashi (iwzbaši)*

The title «yuzbahi» means «commander of a hundred (men)» in Turkish and so is the equivalent of the Latin-English term *centurion* (hecatontarch). That this was its exact meaning as used by the Armenian meliks, however, is not at all certain. According to Raffi, the ancestors (*naxnik*⁴⁷) of all the meliks of Karabagh bore the title *iwzbaši*, which was given to those persons who were lords of their own lands and had the right of keeping troops.⁴⁷ Such a right, it should be noted, could only be granted by the overlord of the *yuzbashi* in question and this

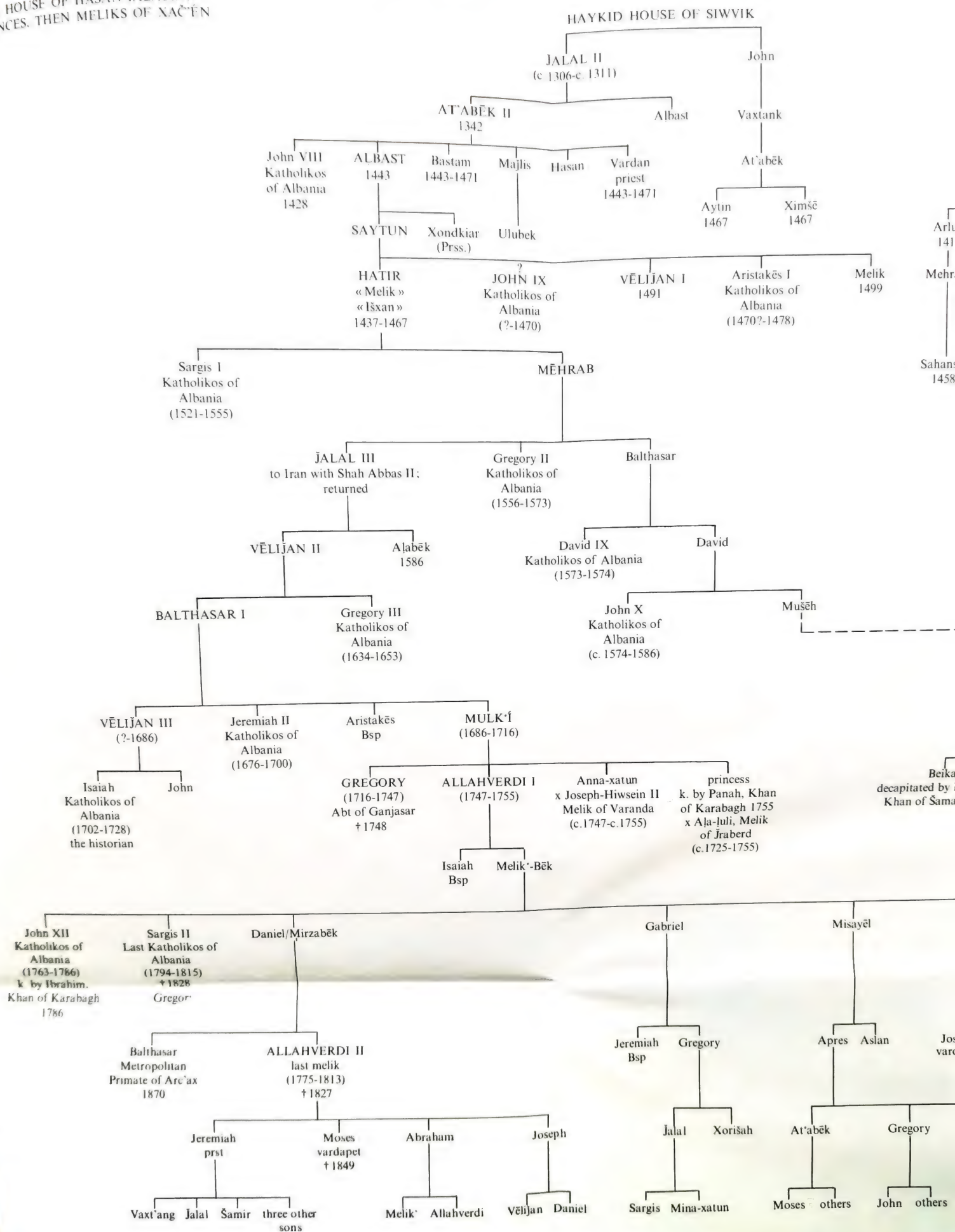
⁴⁵ *Documents of Armenian Architecture* 4, *S. Thadei Vank* (Milan, 1971), p. 15.

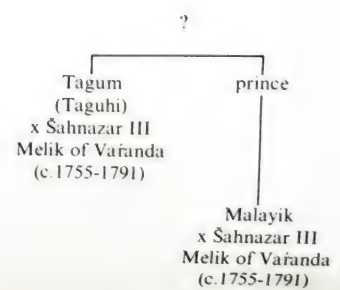
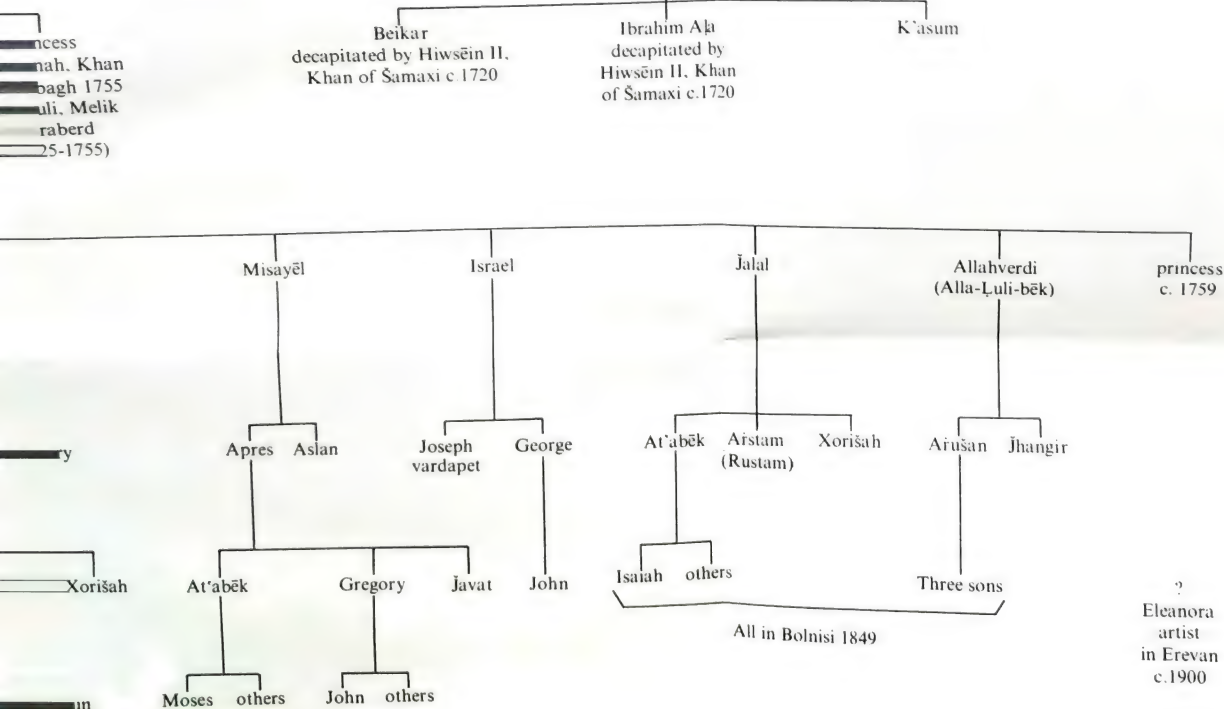
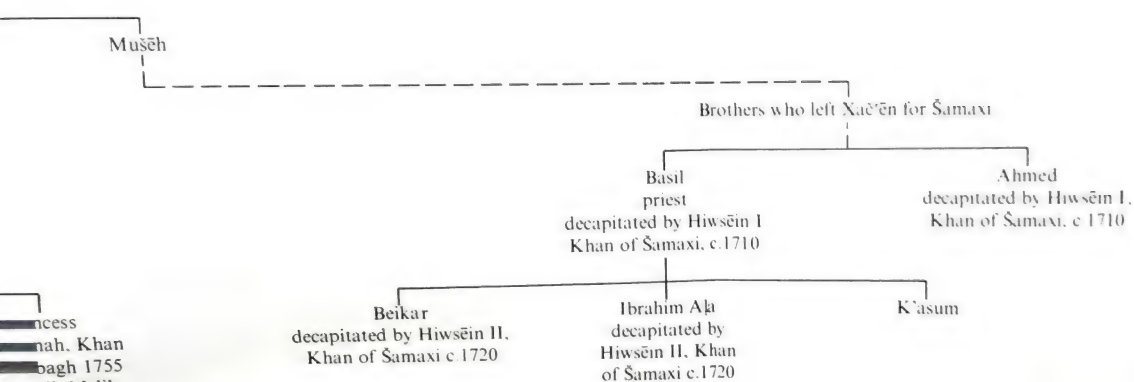
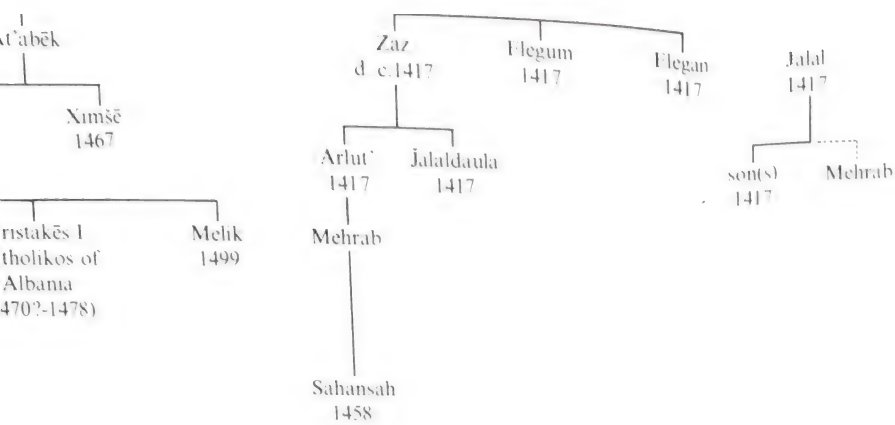
⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Xamsayi melik*... 6, n. 2.

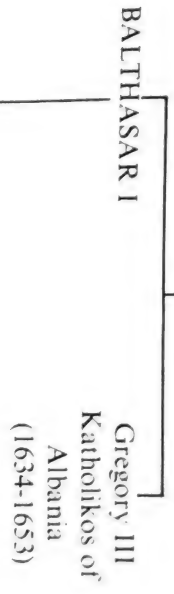
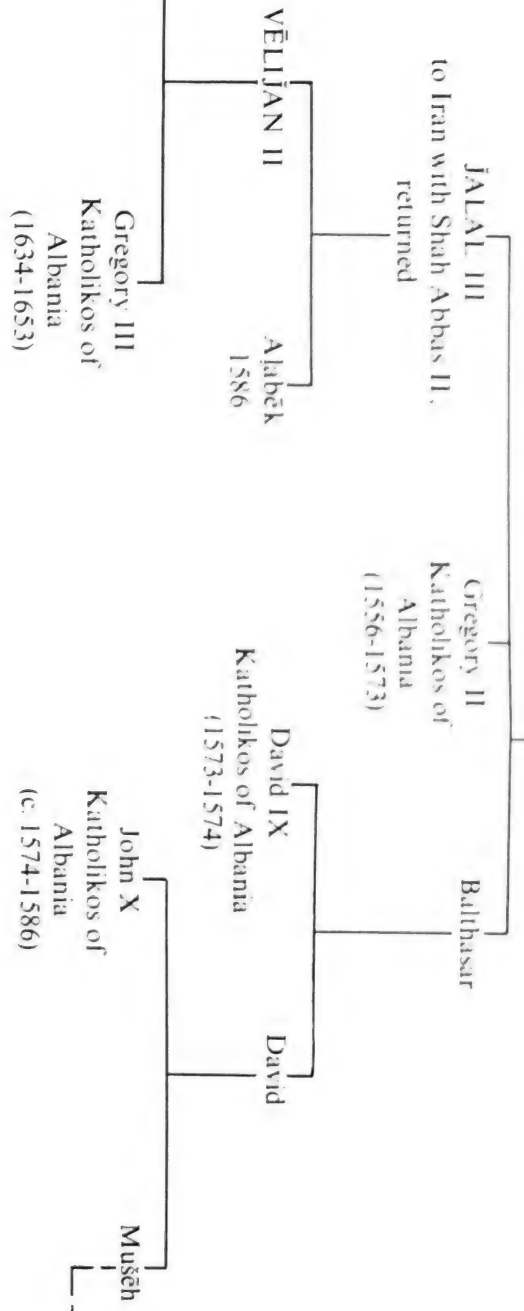
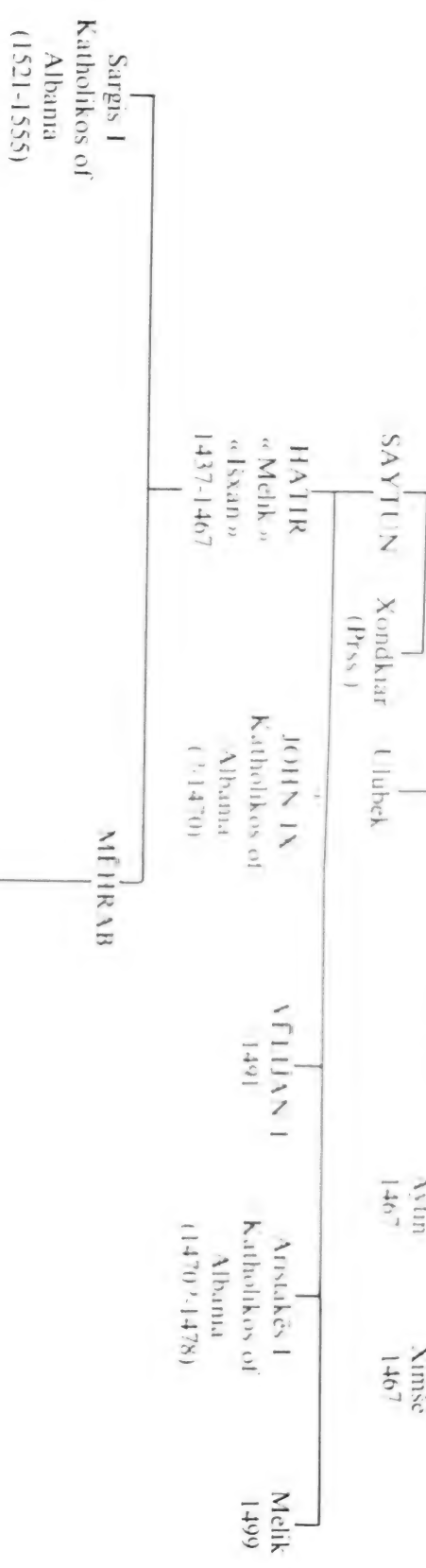
would appear to have been the local melik, himself, rather than the latter's own overlord be he Turkoman or, later, Persian.

The use of this title appears to go back to the time of Jehan Shah. It was first used in *Secrets* in connection with Aytin (fl. 1455), an ancestor of the Beglarians who was a contemporary of Jehan Shah.⁴⁸ Here, yuzbashi is specifically described as a title bestowed upon Aytin by the Shah, granting him the right to keep his own troops.⁴⁹ In *Secrets*, Beknazarianc' points out that the rank, the rights, and the territories of the meliks and yuzbashis differed. A melik ruled over an entire district (*gawar*) which formed his hereditary principality and had his own princely troops (*sep'akan zawrk'*), flag, centurion (*hariwrapet*), chiliarchs (*hazarapetner*) and special military commander (*zoravar*). He also ruled over his own people from whom he collected a specific head tax. The yuzbashi, on the other hand, was under the rule of a melik even though he ruled his own restricted territory comprising two, three, or more villages, had his own flag and a certain number of troops, and was his own military commander. Jehan Shah established meliks in Ayrarat and in Greater and Lesser Siwnik' (Arc'ax/Xaç'en/Karabagh) and yuzbashis in Šemaxi, Nuxa and elsewhere, the latter apparently answering directly to himself.⁵⁰ It would appear from this that the term *yuzbashi* in its strict sense of centurion, i.e., commander of one hundred men, did not actually apply and that the term was much more loosely used. Although yuzbashis were appointed by Jehan Shah, others were appointed by the meliks themselves and were often members of his own family. Thus, there were two kinds of yuzbashis : (1) those who were hereditary under the rule of the meliks, and (2) those who were appointed as the meliks saw fit.





?
Eleanora
artist
in Erevan
c. 1900



Katholikos of Albania
(1573-1574)

BALTHASAR I
Gregory III
Katholikos of
Albania
(1634-1653)

John X
Katholikos of
Albania
(c. 1574-1586)

Mušēh

VĒLĪJĀN III
(?-1686)

Jeremiah II
Katholikos of
Albania
(1676-1700)

Aristakēs
Bsp

MULK'Ī
(1686-1716)

Isaiah
Katholikos of
Albania
(1702-1728)
the historian

GREGORY
(1716-1747)
Abt of Ganjasar
† 1748

ALLAHVERDI I
(1747-1755)

Isaiah
Bsp
Melik'-Bēk

Anna-xatun
x Joseph-Hiwsein II
Melik of Varanda
(c. 1747-c. 1755)

princess
k. by Panah, Khan
of Karabagh 1755
x Ala-juli, Melik
of Jraberd
(c. 1725-1755)

John XII
Katholikos of
Albania
(1763-1786)
by Ibrahim,
an of Karabagh

Sargis II
Last Katholikos of
Albania
(1794-1815)
† 1828
Gregor

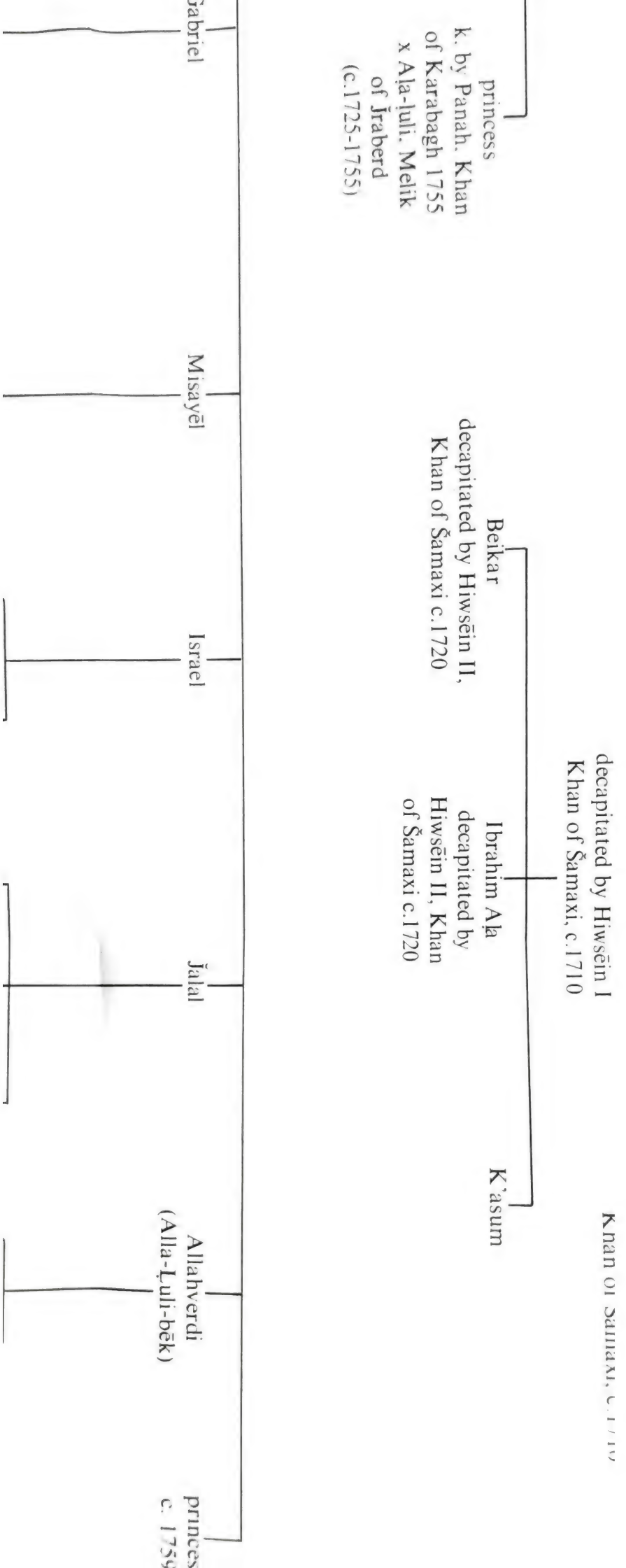
Daniel Mirzabēk

Gabriel

Misayēl

decap
K...

princess
k. by Panah. Khan
of Karabagh 1755
x Ala-luli. Melik
of Iraberd
(c.1725-1755)



MIRZA I
"the Just"
Melik of Gelarkunik 1458

MELIK-BEK

BALASAN

MELIK-BEK II
Lord of Gelam

SAHN AZAR I
first Melik of Varanda
confirmed by Shah Abbas II
+ 1606

MIRZA II
(1606-?)

Mavil

Tartu

Melik on

PIRHAMZA
Melik of
Lulali

Tatulan
d of David
1549

Joseph
1505

John Jesse Hamazur Dilanji Kamel Niaz

Leif
young
1616

Natunsh

BALIN
(? + 1644)

Maria

SAHN AZAR II
(1644-1682)

MELIKS OF
CAR

MELIKS OF
GARDMAN

MELIKS OF
GELARKUNIK

Anna-Natun
d of Luke
Pr Avamian

HIWSEIN I
(1682-1736)

Zawra-Natun
d of the Khan
of Navlewan

princess

Isaiah
Melik of Dizak
(1747-1781)

MIRZA III
(1736-c 1747)
decapitated by Nader
Shah of Iran c 1747

JOSEPH HIWSEIN II
(c 1747-c 1755)
k. by his brother
Sahnazar c 1755

Anna-Natun
d of Melik
Melik of Na'at'n
(1747-1755)

SAHN AZAR III
(c 1755-1791)

Tagum
(Taguht)
Hasan-Jalalan

Sona
d of Isaiah
Melik of Dizak
(1747-1781)

Malayik
Hasan-Jalalan,
niece of Taguht

Gayane
+ nun
at C'maxe'i

princes
k. by their
uncle, Sahnazar

Isaiah
(Sah)
*c 1720
k. by his uncle
Sahnazar III
1775

JAMSED
(1805-?)

Anuram
(Mura)

HIWSEIN III
(1791-1805)

Hurt-Zat

Ibrahim,
Khan of
Karabagh

JHANBAXS
(p 1805-a 1822)

Humay

Jhangur

David-bek Catureau
(Myr Davoud-Zadur)
Iranian Ambassador
to France 1813

XUDDUD
last Melik
of Varanda
(1822-1828)

Maria,
d of Joseph
Pr. Bebut Isyih Bebutov
*1807-430 xi 1837

Paul
1800

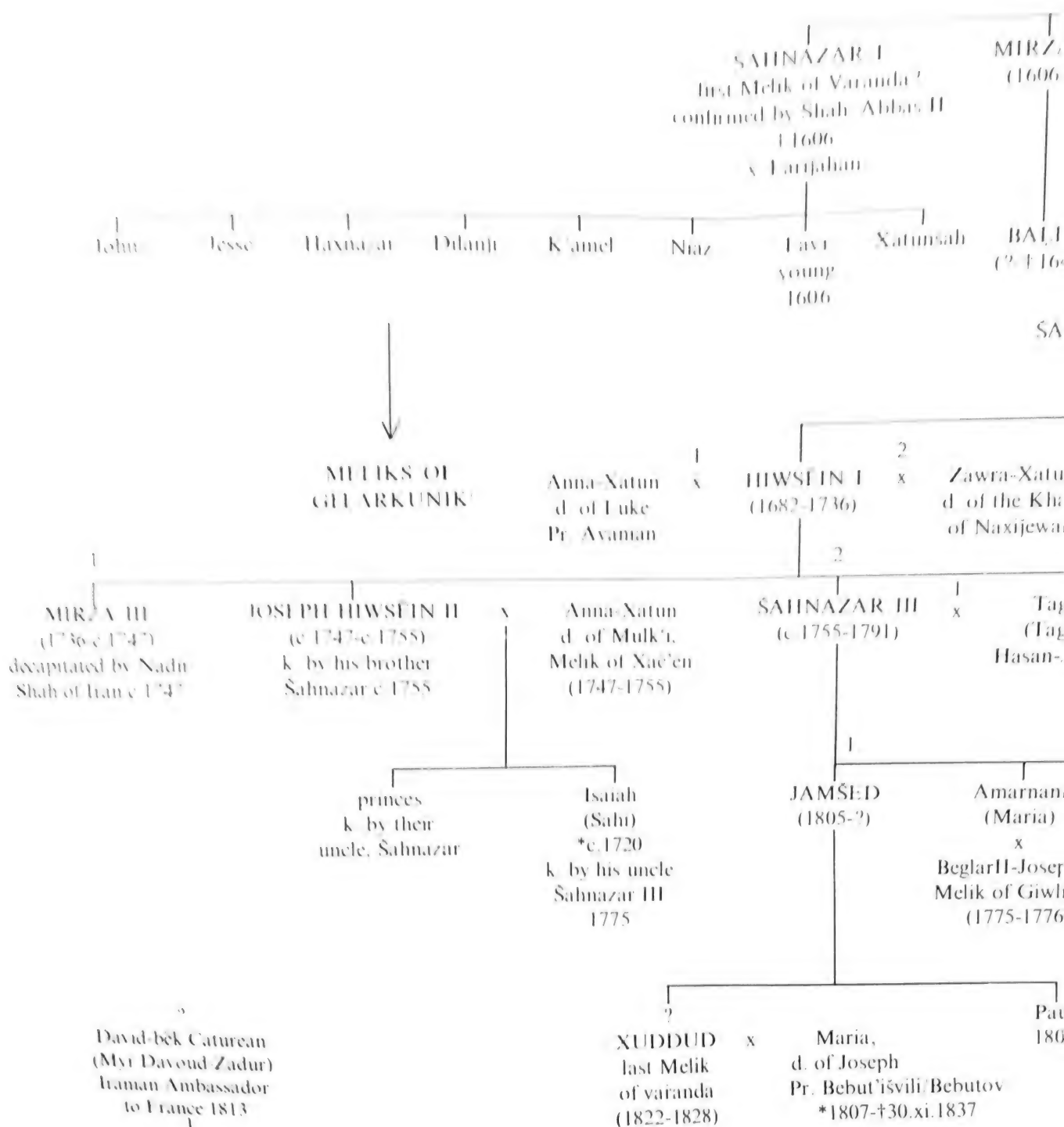
princess

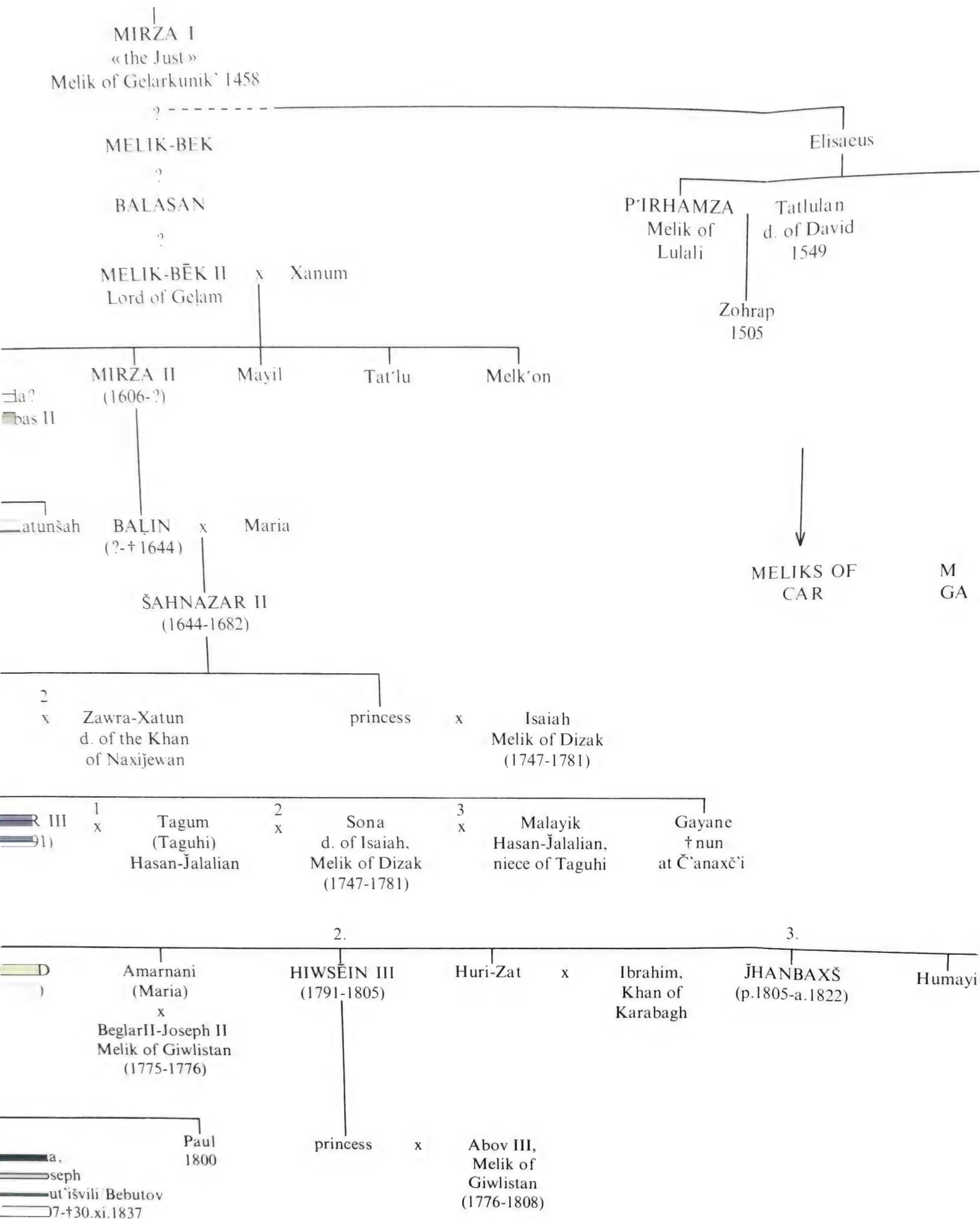
Abou III,
Melik of
Gawlihan
(1776-1808)

prince

prince

II - THE HOUSE OF GELAMIAN SAHNAZARIAN (GELUKIDS)
MELIKS OF GELARKUNIK - THEN OF VARANDA





HAYKID
HOUSE OF SIWNİK

ABOV I
«the Black»
+ 1632

BĒGLAR I
(1632-?)

princes

ABOV II
«the Lame»
(?-1728)
x
Lamar-Sultana
d of Mamlat,
Khan of Ganja
+ 1753

JOSEPH I
(1728-1775)
x
Hērīk'naz
Asa
Centurion

T'amraz T'emuraz (= ?Asturatur)
Regent for Joseph
1728, † hanged by Joseph I
Melik of Giwlistan and Adam I
Melik of Jraherd 1728

Pap
1767
Saruxan
1699-1723
ancestor of
the House of
Saruxan-bek

BĒGLAR II-JOSEPH II
(1775-1776)
k. by his wife
1776

x
Amarnani, d.
of
Sahnazar III,
Melik of Varanda
(c.1755-1791)

P'RIDON
(1808-?)
minor in 1776,
Amb. to Tsar Paul I 1799; k.
by his brother
Šam, p. 1808

x
N, sister
of George
Kelaev
x
Balir
Euphrosyne
d of John Pr
Bebutašvili
Bebutov
Šam

ABOV III
*c. 1759-†1808
(1776-1808)
hostage to Shahverdi,
Khan of Ganja

x
N, d of
Hiwšēn III,
Melik of
Varanda
(1791-1805)

Hiwšēn
+ 1775

Rostom
decapitated (p. 1808-?)
1804
MINAS
Isah
(Sayi)

Peter
Madat'
Centurion
of Giwlistan
[1799-1822]

JOSEPH III
Melik-Pridonian
last melik
(p.1808-1826)

John
Šamur-xan
Russ. Minister
to Iran † 1822

N
widow of
Nazareth
Sarkisian
26.2.1822
x
David
*1.1.1975
†22.9.1884

Taiš

T'emuraz

BĒglar

?

?

Philip

x

Helena

N N

5 8 1868

Joseph

Natalia

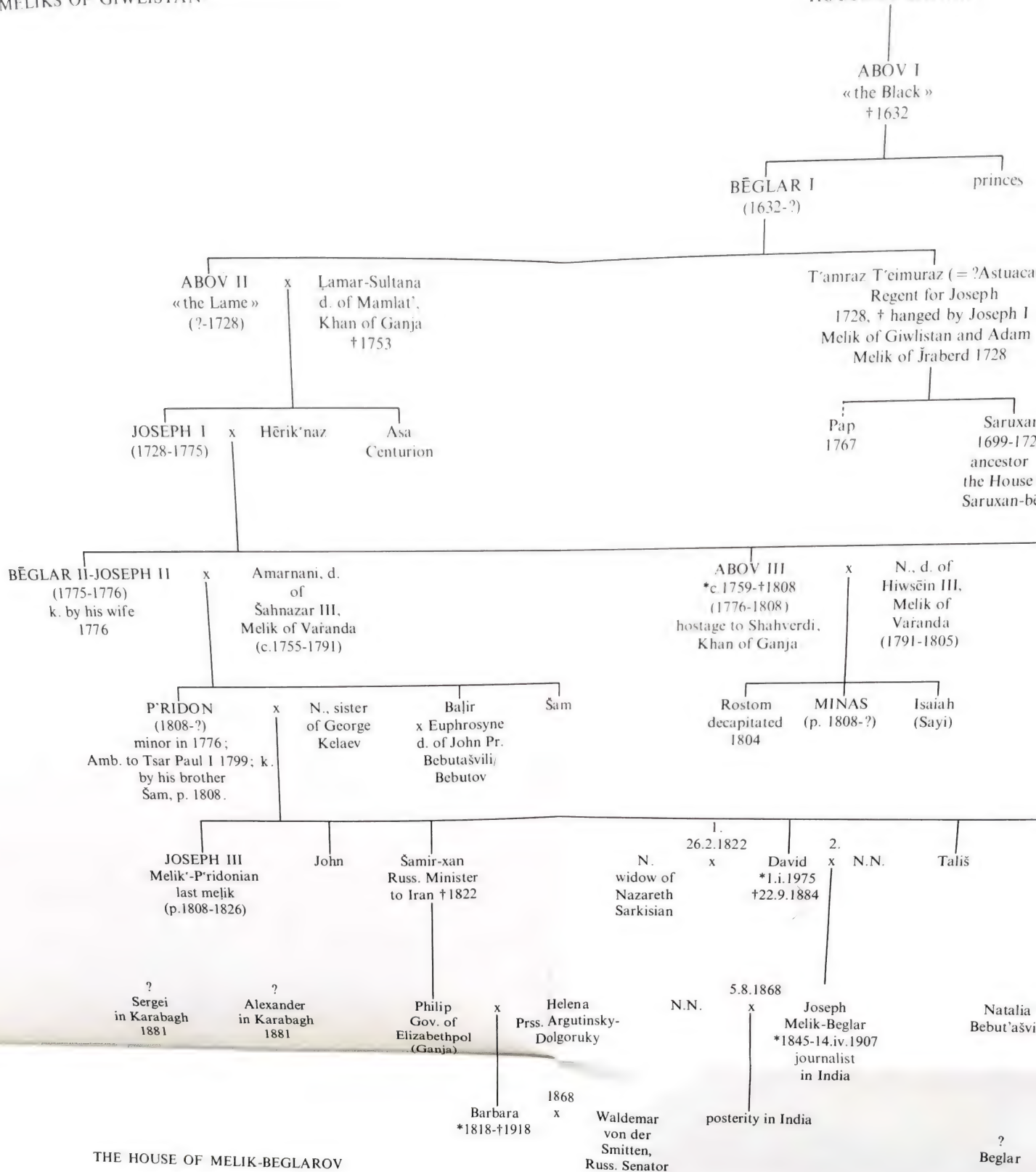
x

G.

?

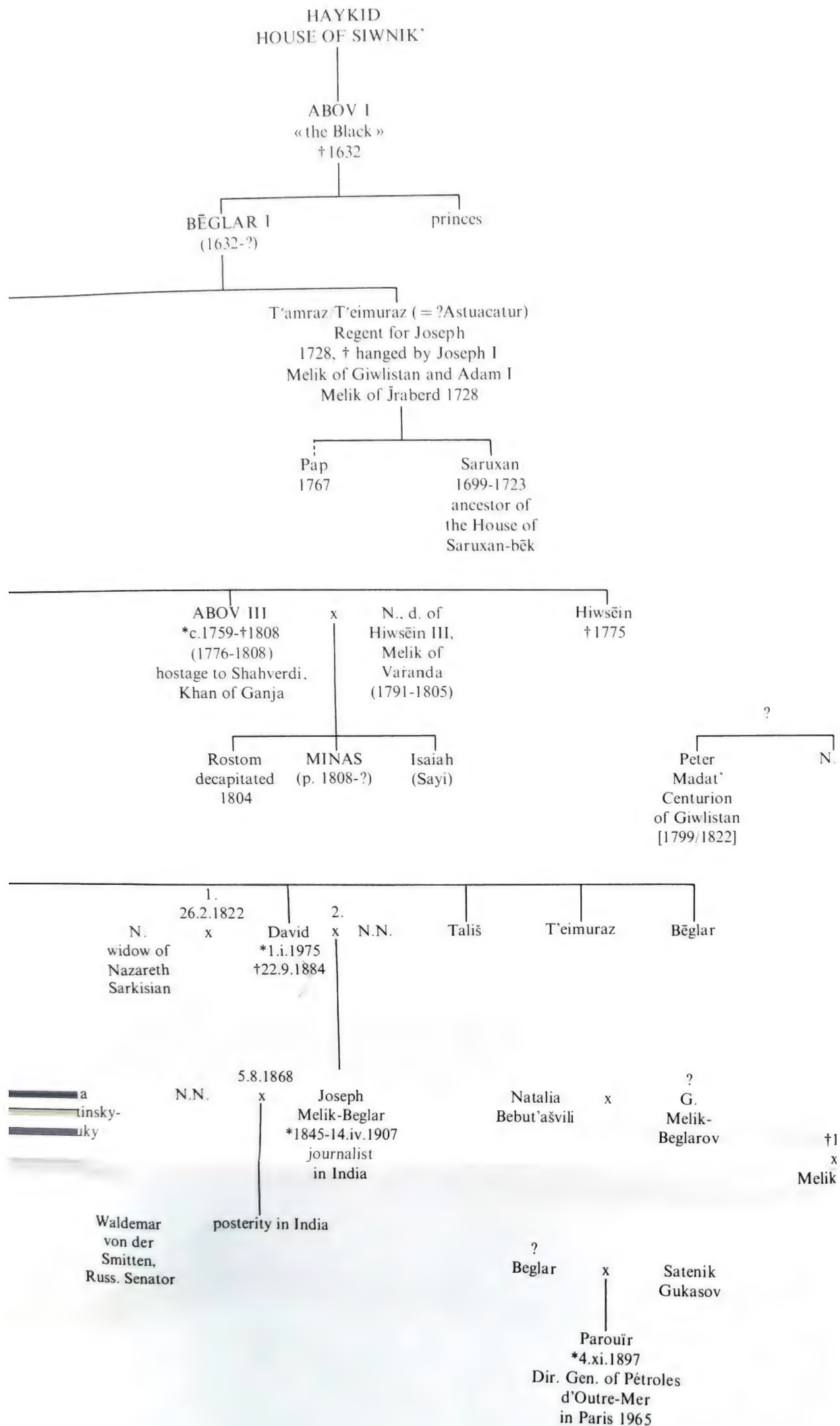
III. THE HOUSE OF AY TINIAN-BĒLGARIAN MELIKS OF GIWLISTAN

HAYKID HOUSE OF SIWNİK'

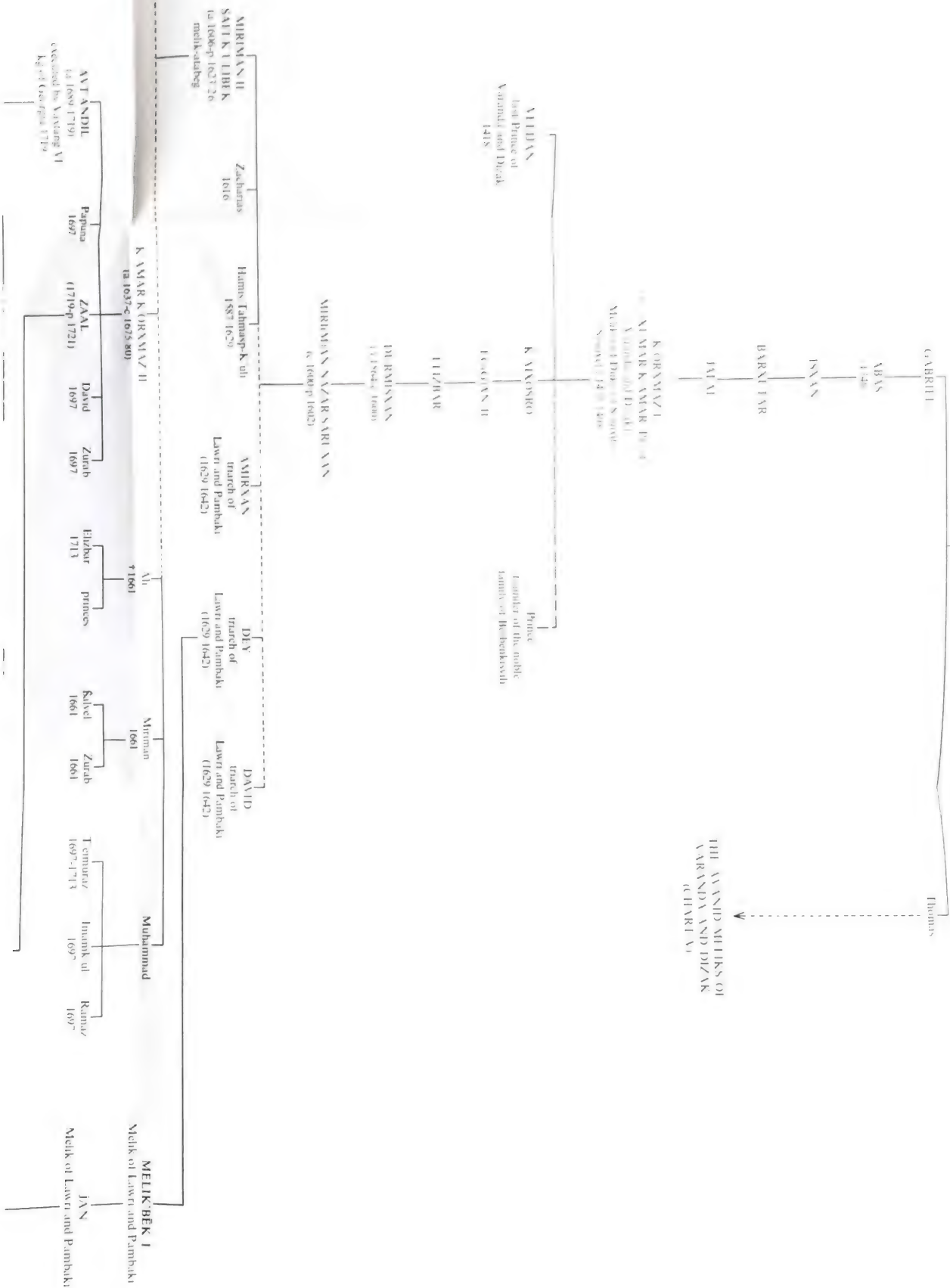


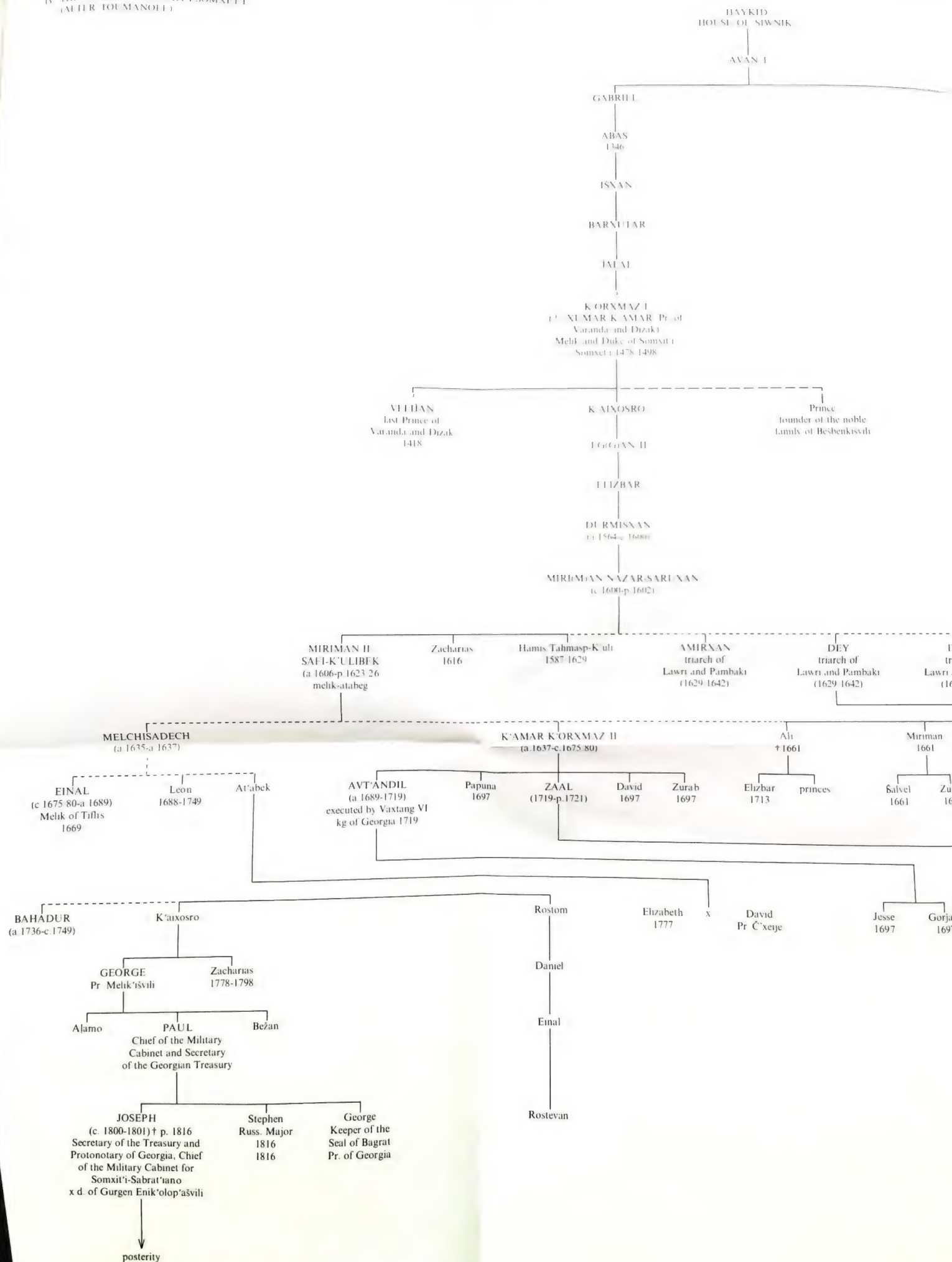
THE HOUSE OF MELIK-BEGLAROV

?
Beglar



ИЗДАНИЕ
ИСТОРИЧЕСКОЕ





HAYKID
HOUSE OF SIWNİK

AVAN I

GABRIEL

ABAS
1346

ISXAN

BARXUTAR

JĀLĀL

K'ORXMAZ I
(? = XUMAR K'AMAR, Pr. of
Varanda and Dizak)
Melik and Duke of Somxet'i
Somxet'i 1478-1498

K'AXOSRO

Prince
founder of the noble
family of Bešbenkišvili

EG(G)AN II

ELIZBAR

DURMIŠXAN
(a. 1564-c. 1600)

MIRI(M)AN NAZAR-SARUXAN
(c. 1600-p. 1602)

Hamis Tahmasp-K'uli
1587-1629

AMIRXAN
triarch of
Lawri and Pambaki
(1629-1642)

DEY
triarch of
Lawri and Pambaki
(1629-1642)

DAVID
triarch of
Lawri and Pambaki
(1629-1642)

K'AMAR K'ORXMAZ II
(a. 1637-c. 1675/80)

Ali
† 1661

Mirman
1661

apuna
1697

ZAAL
(1719-p. 1721)

David
1697

Zurab
1697

Elizbar
1713

princes

Šalvel
1661

Zurab
1661

T'eimuraz
1697-1713

Rostom

Elizabeth
1777

x
David
Pr. Č'xeije

Jesse
1697

Gorjasp
1697

K'AMAR
(a.

Daniel

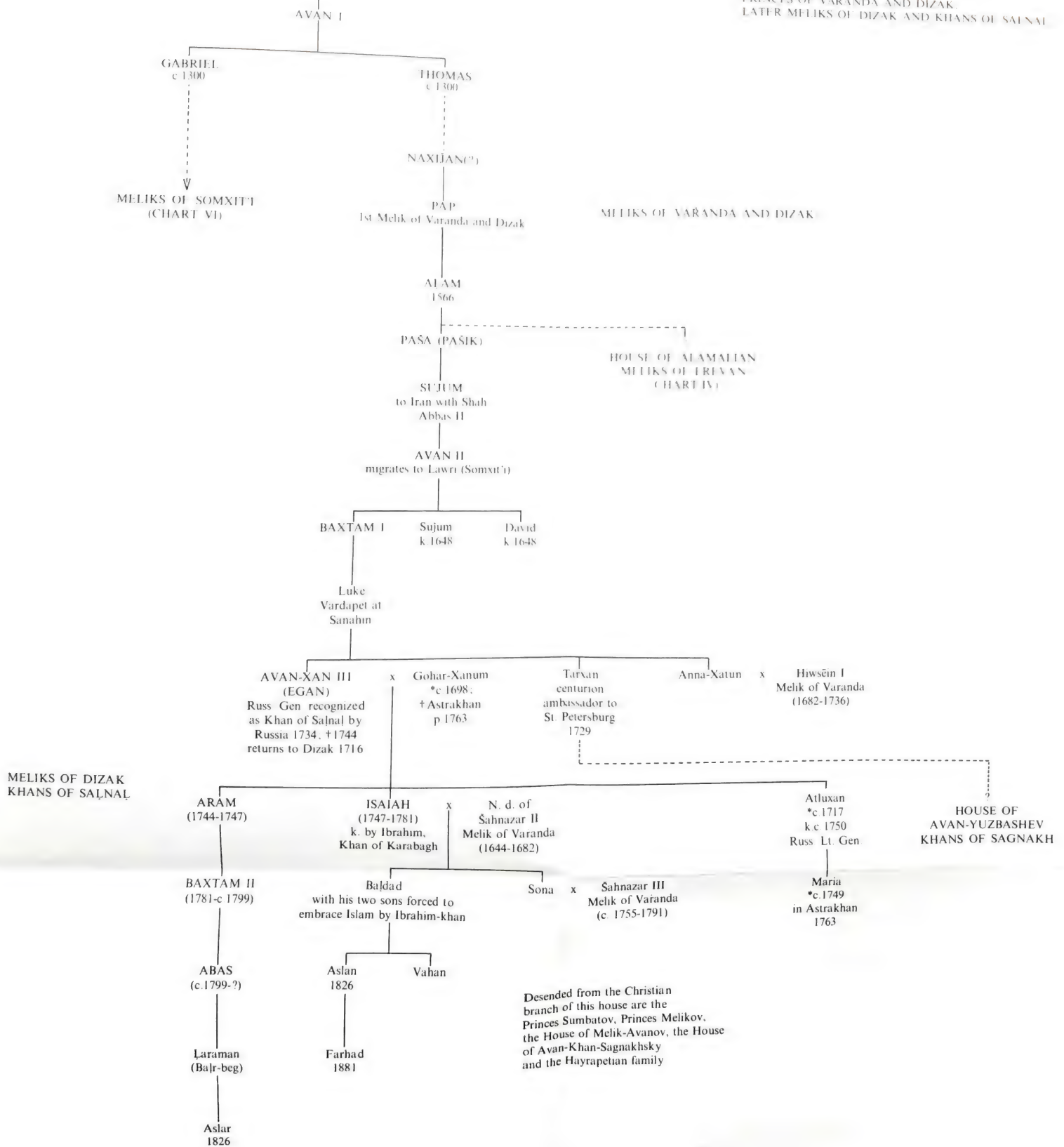
Einal

Rostevan

THE AVAN
VARANDA
(CH

HAYID HOUSE OF SIWNIK

V THE HOUSE OF AVANIAN PRINCES OF VARANDA AND DIZAK. LATER MELIKS OF DIZAK AND KHANS OF SAINAL



GABRIEL
c.1300
MELIKS OF SOMXIT'I
(CHART VI)

V

1st Melik of Varanda and Dizak

NAXIĬĀN(?)

PĀP

THOMAS
c.1300

AĻAM
1566

PAŠĀ (PAŠIK)

SUJUM

to Iran with Shah
Abbas II

AVAN II
migrates to Lawri (Somxit'i)

BAXTAM I
Suĵum k.1648
David k.1648

Luke
Vardapet at
Sanahin

HOUSE OF ALAN
MELIKS OF ER
CHART IV

?

MELIKS OF VARĀ

ARAM
(1744-1747)

BAXTAM II

ISAIAH
(1747-1781)
k. by Ibrahim,
Khan of Karabagh

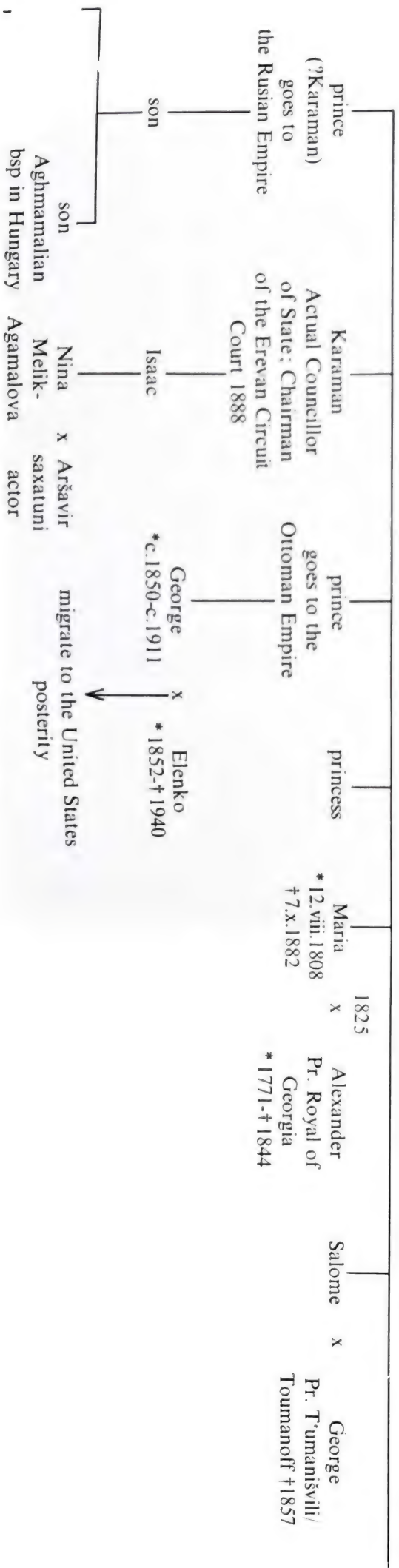
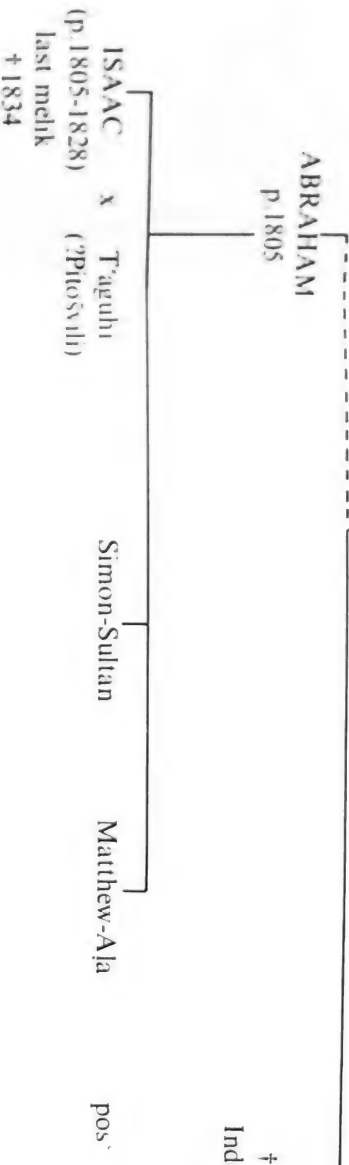
N. d. of
Şahmazar II
Melik of Varanda
(1644-1682)

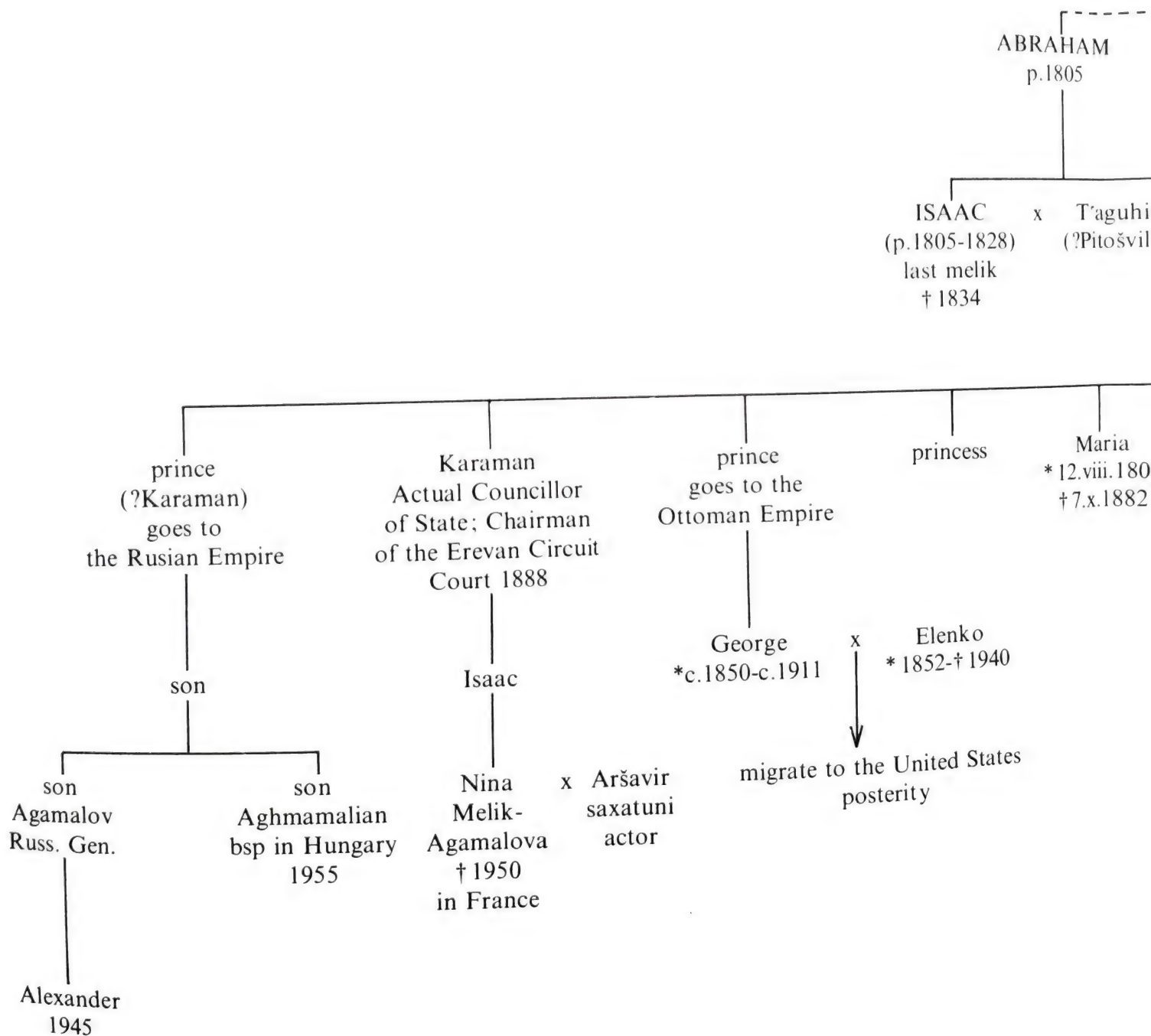
Buildup

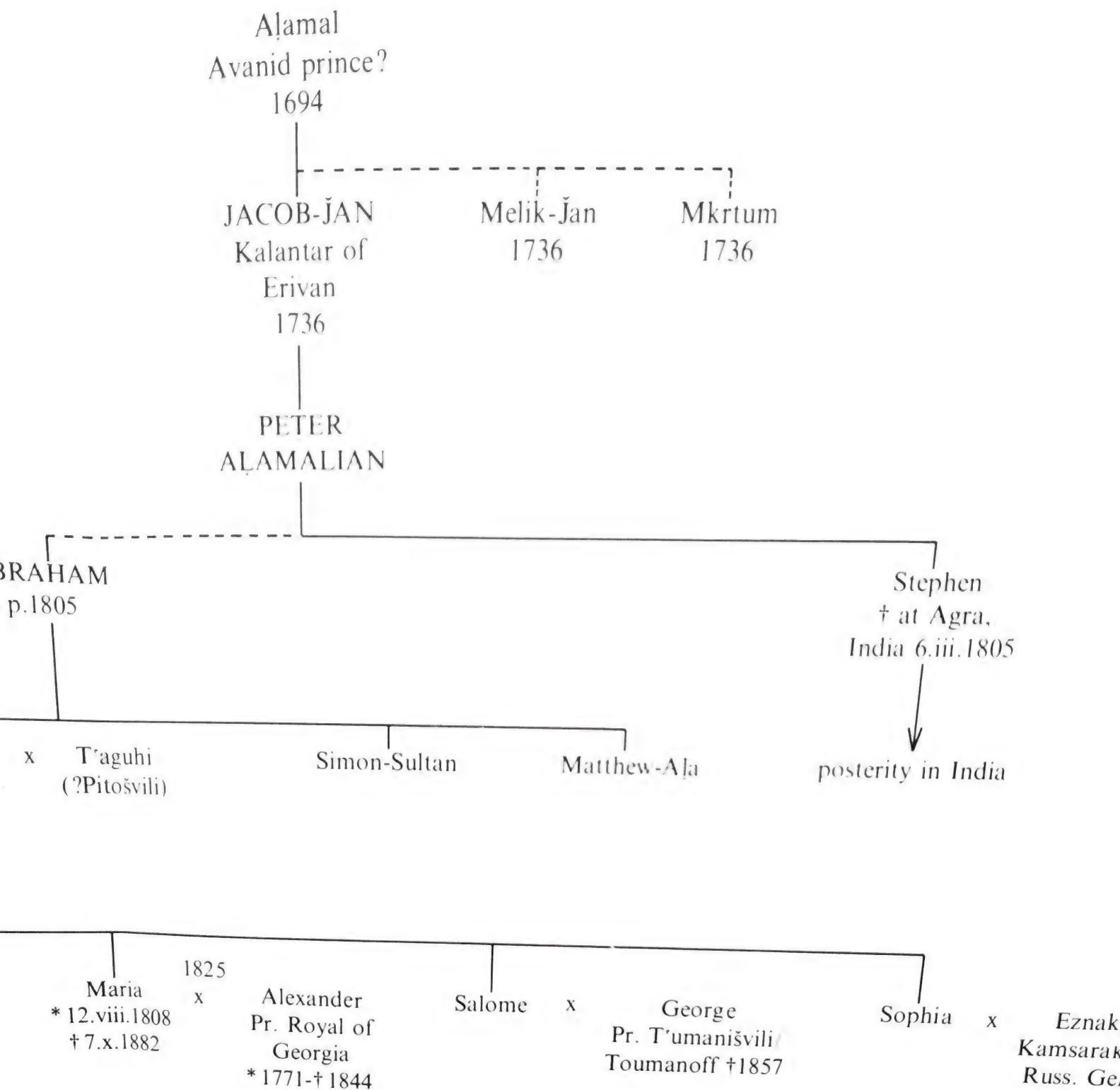
2

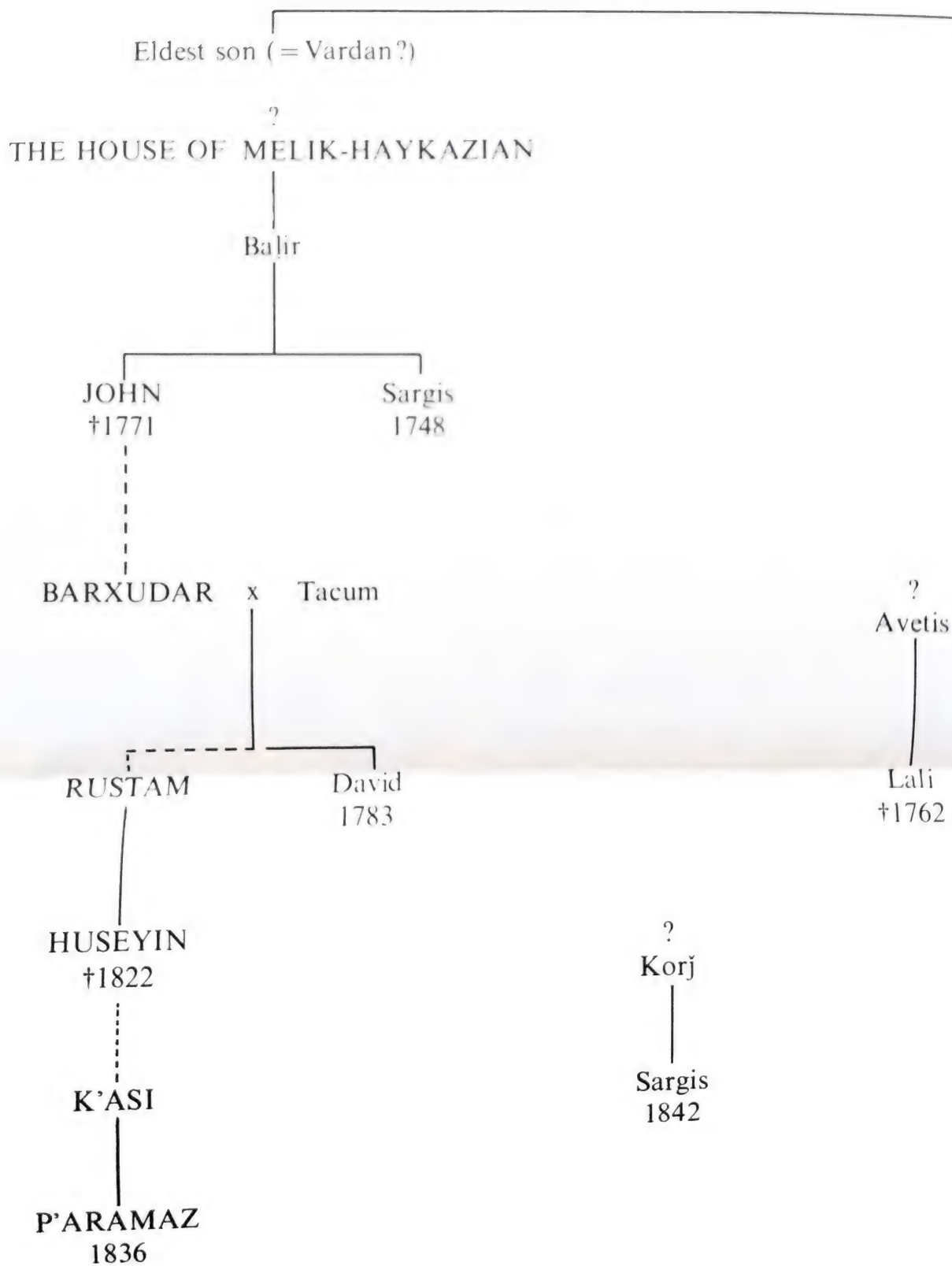
Şahmazar III

ALAMALIAN









The genealogical chart illustrates the lineage of the House of Melik-Isaev. It begins with Martin, k by the Muslims, Melik of Kašatal or Zangezur, who is the son of Basil, Bsp of Gelard (1486-1493). Martin's son is Alajan, who is married to Arayic' (prss). Alajan's son is Garagan, k by the Muslims, who is married to June (1559?). Garagan's son is Haykaz (1586), who is married to Astuacatur, Bsp of Gelard (1604). Haykaz's son is Hayk, who is married to Inanik (John) (1635-1679). Hayk's son is Israel (1678), who is married to David (1635-1679). Israel's son is Isaiah (1687), who is married to Stephen (1635-1679). Isaiah's son is Melik-Israelian, who is married to David (1679-1705). Melik-Israelian's son is Vardan, who is married to Ananias, deacon. Vardan's son is princess, who is married to Beko. The chart also shows the lineage of the House of Melik-Isaev, starting with Adam I (1761-1780/2), who is married to Lamar-Sultana, k. by Panah, Khan of Karabagh. Adam I's son is Mejlum (1780.2-1796), who is married to Allaverdi, centurion of Jraberd. Mejlum's son is Adam II (*c.1785), who is married to T'amar-xatun. Adam II's son is Sar-naz (prss.), who is married to Rostom, Regent for Adam II (1796-?). The chart concludes with the text 'THE HOUSE OF MELIK-ISAEV'.

```

graph TD
    Martin["MARTIN  
k by the Muslims  
Melik of Kašatal or Zangezur"] --> Basil["Basil  
Bsp of Gelard  
1486-1493"]
    Martin --> Alajan["ALAJAN"]
    Alajan --> Garagan["GARAGAN  
k by the Muslims"]
    Garagan --> Haykaz["HAYKAZ  
(1586)  
to Iran with Shah  
Abbas II"]
    Haykaz --> Hayk["HAYK"]
    Hayk --> Israel["ISRAEL  
1678"]
    Israel --> Isaiah["ISAIAH  
1687  
rst Melik of  
Jraberd  
c.1725"]
    Isaiah --> MelikIsraelian["MELIK-ISRAELIAN"]
    MelikIsraelian --> AdamLuli["ADAM-LULI  
(1725-1755)"]
    AdamLuli -- x --> AdamI["ADAM I  
(1761-1780/2)"]
    AdamI -- x --> LamarSultana["Lamar-Sultana  
k. by Panah, Khan  
of Karabagh"]
    AdamI --> Mejlum["MEJLUM  
(1780.2-1796)"]
    Mejlum --> AdamII["ADAM II  
*c.1785  
x T'amar-xatun"]
    AdamII --> SarNaz["Sar-naz  
(prss.)"]
    Mejlum --> Allaverdi["Allaverdi  
centurion  
of Jraberd"]
    Allaverdi --> Rostom["Rostom  
Regent for  
Adam II  
(1796-?)"]
    Rostom --> MelikIsaev["THE HOUSE OF MELIK-ISAEV"]
    Basil --> Mirzabek["Mirzabek  
1559?"]
    Basil --> Birtel["Birtel  
1559?"]
    Alajan --> Arayic["Arayic'  
(prss)"]
    Haykaz --> Inanik["Inanik  
(John)  
1635-1679"]
    Haykaz --> David["David  
Bsp  
1635-1679"]
    Haykaz --> Stephen["Stephen  
1635-1679"]
    MelikIsraelian --> Vardan["Vardan"]
    MelikIsraelian --> princess["princess"]
    Vardan --> Ananias["Ananias  
deacon"]
    princess --> Beko["Beko"]
  
```


VIII. THE HOUSE OF ALLAHVERDIAN
MELIKS OF JRABERD (Second House)

ALLAHVERDI I
centurion
a servitor of Adam I
Melik of Jraberd
(1780 2-1796)

Maria 1 x

RUSTAM 2 x

Lord of
Giwl-Eat'al
Castle, servitor
of Melik Mejlum
of Jraberd

Vard-
Xatun
d. of
Bala-bek

Mirza
servitor of
Melik Mejlum
of Jraberd

Bala
posthumously

ROVŠAN
(c 1796-?)

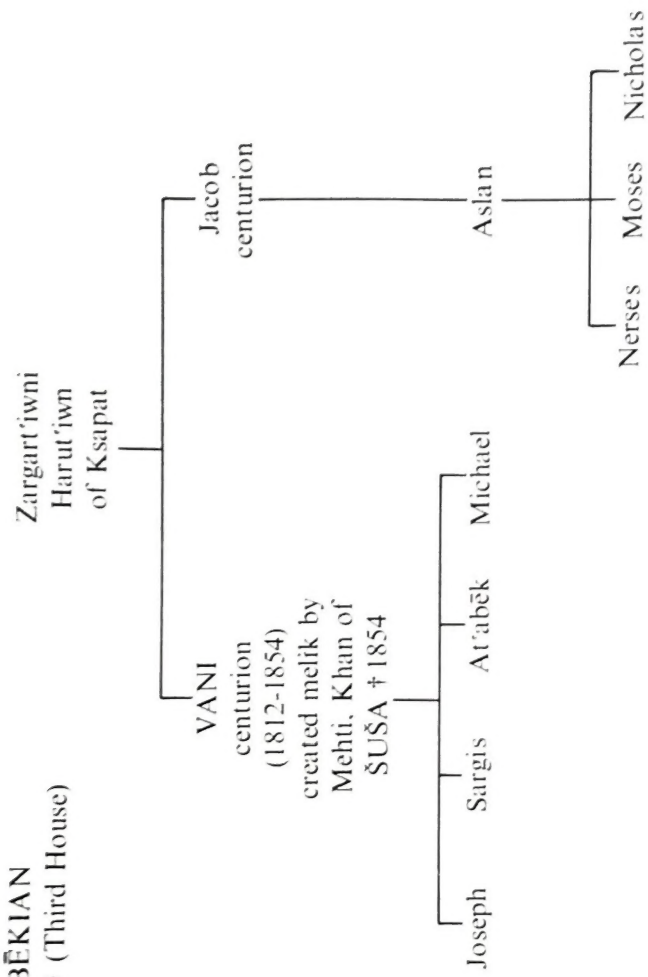
ALLAHVERDI II
last melik
(? c 1812)

Mina

Larman

Melun

IX. THE HOUSE OF AT'ABĒKIAN
MELIKS OF ĴRABERD (Third House)



THE MELIKS OF EASTERN ARMENIA II

CORRIGENDA TO THE PREVIOUS ARTICLE THE MELIKS OF EASTERN ARMENIA : A PRELIMINARY STUDY

<i>page :</i>	<i>line :</i>	<i>error :</i>	<i>correction :</i>
286	28	1813	c. 1830
288	1	basis	basin
	n. 14, l. 7	« filthy »	« filthy »
	8	autonomous	autonomous
	19	further	farther
289	n. 17, l. 11	noticable	noticeable
290	4	(Tat'aw)	(Tat'ew)
	23	sholars	scholars
291	4	maintaince	maintainance
292	10	exagerated	exaggerated
294	3	Lawri and Somxit'i	Lori and Somkhit'i
	15	Somket'i	Somkhit'i
295	4	1813	1805
	24	part	past
296	4	bruther	brother
298	2	encielement	encirclement
	17	1813	1805
299	13	economics	economies
	23	melks	meliks
	n. 37	Shanazarian	Shahnazarian
300	3	easy	east
	8	were	was
	31	in	it
	31	principle	principal
	35	Khachalakaberd	Khachaghakaberd
301	2	Ganjasar and Mecirank	Gantzasar and Medzirank
	11	Covatel	Dzovategh
	23	existance	existence
	31	temparature	temperature
	36	existance	existence
318	21	descendent	descendant
	23	Chart II	the chart
319	1	derived that	derived from that
	9	1682	1791
	n. 111, l. 4	existance	existence
320	14	existant	existent
321	3	kidknapped	kidnapped
	26	descendents	descendants
322	4	Lore	Lori

<i>page :</i>	<i>line :</i>	<i>error :</i>	<i>correction :</i>
	6	Pressure	pressure
	6-7	despoliation	despoliation
323	10	lettre	letter
	17	Haghbak	Khaghbak
	25	enterprize	enterprise
	last line	Gragan (<i>sic</i>)	Garagan (<i>sic</i>)
	n. 126	<i>me</i> ;	<i>mec</i>
324	30	was the brought	was brought
325	11	dissention	dissension
	13	»	»
	n. 130, l. 6	Apstambut'yun	Apstambut'yan
326	26	Panar	Panah
	31	1813	1805
327	17	descendents	descendants
	n. 132, l. 2	<i>tanec'</i>	<i>tanic'</i>
328	19	surpressed	suppressed
	20	John X	John XII
329	8	avalable	available
	n. 147, l. 7	apparence	appareance
	11	signatees	signatories
	12	predeliction	predilection
	20	<i>tanec'</i>	<i>tanic'</i>
302	26	vileges	villages
	n. 42, l. 5	signatees	signatories
303	8	Persians	Persian
	21	Balk'	Baghk'
304	3	Angeghakot	Angehakot or Sisian
	11	Kashatagh	Kashatagh or Zangezur
305	24	resistence	resistance
306	8	impregnible	impregnable
	16	at Artsakhi in	in Artsakh (northern Karat
	20	in Lori	in Lori (Somkhit'i)
307	3-4	the Meliks Haykazian of	besides the Meliks Haykazia
		Zangezur	Zangezur and
	n. 62, l. 19	<i>paycatrap'aye</i>	<i>paycarap'ayl</i>
308			omit : ծ
310	3	come existence	come into existence
	14	allegience	allegiance
	22-23	Vayotz Jor	Vayots Tzor
	30	granson	grandson
311	16	they, too were	it, too, was
	20	ans	and
312	4	« Vakhtanian »	« Vakhtankian »
	12	to nineteenth century	to the nineteenth
	29	non-existent	non-existent

<i>page :</i>	<i>line :</i>	<i>error :</i>	<i>correction :</i>
315	3	»	»
	19	discrepency	discrepancy
	22	non-existant	non-existent
	n. 101, l. 5	eludicate	elucidate
316	2		omit : (see Chart IV)
	11	whom	who
	13	non-existant	non-existent
	24	existant	existent
317	2-3	Charts II and V	the chart
318	2	surpression	suppression